

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1959--JUNE 1959

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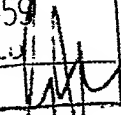
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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John Edgar Hoover, Director

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

January 1959--June 1959

July 1959

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>PREFACE</u>	i
<u>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</u>	ii
A. Summary	ii
B. Conclusions	vi
 I. <u>FOREIGN POLICY</u>	 1
1. Failure of U.S. Foreign Policy	2
2. Summit Meeting	3
3. Cuba	6
4. Communist China	8
5. Support of Dictators	9
6. Nuclear Weapons Ban	11
7. Anti-Semitism in West Germany	12
8. Berlin Situation	13
9. War Threat	14
10. German Rearmament	15
11. Peace Program	16
12. Trade with Socialist Countries	17
 II. <u>DOMESTIC ISSUES</u>	 19
1. Bill of Rights Threatened	20
2. Government Censorship	22
3. J. Edgar Hoover and FBI	22
4. Influence of The Worker	23
5. Challenges Facing Communist Party	26
6. Building a Labor Party	27
7. Housing Crisis	29
8. National Health Insurance	31
9. Anticommunist Propaganda	31
10. Tax Relief	32
11. Communist Party versus Monopoly Capitalism	33
12. Anti-Semitism	34
13. Challenge of the Soviet Seven Year Plan	35

III.	<u>LABOR AND INDUSTRY</u>	37
1.	Labor Violence in the South	38
2.	Hospital Workers' Strike	38
3.	Steel Negotiations	40
4.	Six-Hour Day	41
5.	Unemployment under Capitalism	43
6.	Causes of Unemployment	45
7.	Labor Unity Necessary	47
8.	Socialism in Trade-Union Movement	49
9.	House Committee on Un-American Activities an Enemy of Labor	51
10.	Jobless Workers on Move against Unemployment	52
11.	Labor Influence in Politics	54
12.	Ruling Class versus Working Class	55
IV.	<u>AGRICULTURE</u>	56
1.	American Farmers' Outlook	56
2.	Farmers Feel Cost-Price Squeeze	57
3.	Assistance for Farmers	58
4.	Migratory Agricultural Labor	58
V.	<u>COLONIALISM</u>	59
1.	American Imperialism in Latin America	60
2.	Cuba	62
3.	World Imperialism	64
4.	Nicaragua	64
5.	The Philippines	66
6.	Iraq	67
7.	China	68
8.	Argentina	68
9.	Panama	69
10.	Africa	70

VI.	<u>LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS</u>	72
	1. New Era of McCarthyism	72
	2. Amnesty Campaign	75
	3. Violence in the South	77
	4. Persecution of William Z. Foster	79
	5. Proposed Legislation Challenging Supreme Court	80
	6. "Anti-Labor" Legislation	81
	7. A New Political Majority	81
	8. Free Morton Sobell	82
VII.	<u>ARMED FORCES</u>	83
	1. Armament Production	83
	2. "Preventive" War and the Use of Nuclear Weapons	84
	3. Military Budget	84
VIII.	<u>MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS</u>	86
	1. Federal Government's Duty To End Racial Violence	86
	2. Puerto Rican Immigrants	90
	3. Prejudice against Negroes in Unions	91
	4. Civil Rights Are Being Restricted	92
	5. Jim Crow System Continues	95
	6. Participation in Elections	97
	7. Communist Party and the Negroes	97
	8. Influence of Communist Press	98
IX.	<u>EDUCATION</u>	99
	1. Military versus Education Expenditures	99
	2. Marxist Education To Prevent Party Revisionism	100
	3. National System of Education	101
	4. Federal Aid to Education	102
	5. Socialist Educational Progress	104
	6. School Integration Drive	106
	7. Educational "Quantity-Quality" Problem	106

X.	<u>CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION</u>	108
	1. Art as a Weapon	108
	2. Soviet Ballet Gives New Concept of Dance	109
	3. Theater's Part in Struggle for Negro Rights	110
	4. Negro Folklore	110
	5. Pasternak's <u>Doctor Zhivago</u>	111
	6. Christianity and the Oppressed Workers	112
XI.	<u>WOMEN</u>	113
	1. National Budget	113
	2. International Women's Day	113
	3. Working Women	114
XII.	<u>YOUTH</u>	116
	1. Marxist Youth Organization	116
	2. Youth March on Washington	117
	3. World Youth Festival	119
	4. Legislation for Youth	119
	5. Fight against Jim Crow System	120
	6. Jazz and the Youth	120
	7. Delinquent Youth	121

PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, continues to condemn the foreign policy of the United States as being representative of the dying era of imperialism. Following current propaganda of the Soviet Union, the Party stresses the urgent need of a summit meeting to resolve world tensions. The United States is denounced for its interference in the economic and military affairs of Cuba and Communist China. It is charged that the American ruling class, by supporting dictators and tyrants, opposes national liberation and socialism throughout the world.

West Germany, according to the Party, is the trouble spot of Europe and is maintained by the United States as the center for atomic war against the USSR.* Communists consider that the demilitarization of Berlin is the first step in the settlement of the cold war. This is necessary because American "Big Business" has increased the war threat by its actions in rearming West Germany, permitting the return to power of many men who aided Nazism in its rise to power and allowing anti-Semitism to assert itself.

* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Communist Party continues its insistent demands for an end to nuclear weapons tests, recognition of Communist China, and trade with the socialist countries.

In domestic affairs, the Party has vigorously opposed the "reactionary advance" which, it claims, is undermining the Bill of Rights. J. Edgar Hoover is portrayed as having ignored the racist violence against Negroes and as having made the FBI a weapon of terror against "progressive" forces. Communists claim that while there is no true freedom of the press in America, The Worker has continually fought for the exploited masses until its influence is now feared by the "Wall Street Administration." They stress the need for Federal assistance to meet the housing crisis, tax relief for low-income groups, and the establishment of a national health insurance program.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist science, the Party continues to fight the anticommunist propaganda put forth by "monopoly capitalism." While striving to increase their influence in the two major political parties, communists are continuing their attempts to build an independent labor party.

Labor violence in the South, the strike of hospital workers in New York City, the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities relative to the Packinghouse Workers union in Chicago, the mass layoffs in

Detroit, and the steel industry negotiations have all received much attention by the Party to depict the problems of labor-management encountered under the capitalist system. Communists claim that America's unemployed face a grim future because unemployment and economic crises are inevitable under capitalism. They charge that automation, speed-up, and decentralization have made it imperative that the Party crusade for a six-hour day with eight hours' pay. The Party also stresses the weaknesses in trade-union leadership which it plans to exploit to bring the workers closer to socialist consciousness.

The economies of Latin-American countries, according to communists, are kept in a critical state because of the heavy hand of United States imperialism. The Communist Party pledges its support to Fidel Castro's reform programs while condemning the "monopolies of Wall Street" for interference and intrigues in Cuba's internal affairs.

Communists charge that "reactionary Republicans" and "white-supremacist Dixiecrats" have united to impose a new era of McCarthyism upon America. The Party demands Federal legislation to halt the violence against Negroes and to guarantee full integration. It calls for continued protests and action to defeat proposed "anti-labor" legislation. The amnesty

campaign for Party officials still in prison and freedom for Morton Sobell continue to be important Party issues.

In the field of civil rights, communists are vociferous and persistent in their demands for Federal intervention to end the intimidation and violence against Negroes in the South. They assert that the Federal Government protects the lynchers of Negroes while failing to furnish adequate protection to Negroes' citizenship rights. The Party urges united action on the part of labor, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and whites to fight for the educational, social, political, and economic equality of Negroes and other oppressed minorities.

The Party continues to extol the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for their educational, scientific, and cultural advances in order to highlight shortcomings of the United States.

Communists recognize the importance of youth, and they are endeavoring to launch a nationwide socialist youth organization.

B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, will undoubtedly continue its unqualified support of the Soviet Union's foreign policies while constantly vilifying those of the United States and its Western allies. Party publications are expected to continue to echo Soviet demands for the demilitarization of Berlin, a ban on nuclear tests, and an early summit meeting.
2. Party propaganda acclaims the economic, social, and technological advances of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries while exploiting recent problems involving racial matters, unemployment, and housing in the United States. This propaganda campaign can be expected to be intensified by the Party to further its claims of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.
3. Present leadership in the labor unions, the Party maintains, has failed the workers. Therefore, communists are expected to concentrate more militantly on the difficulties caused by automation, decentralization, and speed-up in an attempt to arouse the socialist consciousness of the workers.
4. Communists consistently support any revolutionary action in the Latin-American countries, which they allege are dominated by American imperialism. It is anticipated that the Party will continue to condemn or disrupt any cooperation and assistance that the United States might furnish the present governments of the various Latin-American countries.
5. The Party has closely followed and vehemently denounced recent acts of violence against Negroes in the South. It is virtually certain that the Party will continue to give exaggerated attention to these and any similar future events.
6. The Party feels it has overcome its revisionist, factional squabbles and is now more united in furthering the struggles of the people. Youth work, including the groundwork for the establishment of a nationwide socialist youth organization, and a concerted effort to increase Party influence within the two major political parties will doubtless be emphasized by the Party in the coming period.

I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The foreign policies of the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles were failures because they were the class policies of the era of imperialism--an era nearing its end.
2. Dissension among "Free World" powers has forced President Eisenhower to accept a summit meeting, but constant pressure is needed to assure that he will not "beg off."
3. Disruptive American imperialist forces are trying to use "anti-communism" to spread distrust of Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolution.
4. The policy of the United States Government toward China endangers world peace.
5. The aim of the reactionary foreign policy of Wall Street is to win world domination for the United States by supporting dictators and tyrants.
6. The intended use of West Germany as a center for atomic war against the USSR makes necessary immediate demands for the ban of all nuclear weapons.
7. Washington and the neofascist government in Bonn have allowed anti-Semitism to rise unhindered in West Germany.
8. The demilitarization of Berlin is the first step in the peaceful settlement of the cold war.
9. Imperialist adventurers must be prevented from pushing our country into war.
10. Americans who remember Nazism must demand an end to the rearming of Germany by United States "Big Business."

11. A bolder and more consistent struggle must be waged for an affirmative peace program.
12. Organized workers must fight for increased trade with socialist countries.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Failure of U. S. Foreign Policy

"JOHN FOSTER DULLES died a failure. The Socialist lands, that he hoped to destroy, are stronger than ever. The world's fascist leaders, whom he aided so much, are weakened or dead. And the tributes paid him as the 'greatest Secretary of State', as he was buried in Arlington Cemetery, cannot hide these historical facts...."

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"Tke's Secretary of State had many... defeats after taking office in Washington. His policy of 'liberation' of the 'satellites,' that is counter revolution in the smaller Socialist lands, collapsed. The strength of Socialism abroad, and the strength of the Peace sentiment at home, were too much for Dulles.

"DULLES'S POLICY of 'massive retaliation' with H-Bomb against the Socialist lands has also flopped to date. The strength of Socialism abroad, and the peace sentiment at home stopped him again."

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"He was terribly defeated in Venezuela, where Dictator Perez Jimenez used to drive him around in a bullet proof car. For Perez Jimenez went out, with a kick in his pants, and democracy came in.

"A BIGGER DEFEAT came in Cuba, where Dulles's ambassador had been presenting Dictator Batista with American tanks in public ceremonies. For Fidel Castro's bearded heroes drove the stooges of imperialism out...."

"The defeat in the Middle East was also upsetting. For Eisenhower and Dulles had to pull their Marines out of Lebanon a few months after they went in. And the Iraq revolution they were intended to crush, went on to new strength.

"It's useless to blame Dulles as an individual, however. He was the representative of a class. And the defeats he suffered were defeats for imperialism. For the era of imperialism, which Dulles represented, is nearing its end."

The Worker,
June 7, 1959, p. 7.

2. Summit Meeting

"THE BALANCE SHEET on the Geneva talks has not been drawn up as yet, but when it is, the likelihood is that things will be to the good, rather than vice versa. The world has had an opportunity to hear the arguments--to see the wares--of the juxtaposed powers, and get some of the facts of life. And certainly, as the old, or rather, modern saying has it, it is better to be talking things out than shooting things out.

"Despite the fact that the powers have not, as yet, come to agreement on such urgent matters as neutralizing West Berlin, making it a free city, on questions of peace treaties with the two Germanies, and on issues of unification, they are nearer a summit conference than they were before. Of course, there were thunderbolts President Eisenhower cast, that he would go to no summit meeting unless certain agreements were reached at Geneva, but most observers feel that the West cannot afford to ignore the vast, and still growing, sentiment for top-flight conferrings."

"...indisputable is the central fact that the more peace-lovers speak out, the more certain it is that mankind will progress to end--forever--the dangers of a world holocaust."

The Worker,
June 21, 1959, p. 2.

"The present problem is to force a liquidation of the Cold War. It is to reverse the U.S. policy, of 'liberation' and massive coercion, whose bankruptcy is convulsing the 'Free World.' That U.S. policy, upon which Adenauer has staked his political life, cannot work, for its implementation has resulted not in the relative weakening of the USSR but its strengthening; not in the unifying of the Western Alliance, but in its near shattering.

"For the immediate future, a detente is needed in Central Europe, and this still can be achieved without the United States Government appearing to suffer a shattering blow to its prestige. The longer that Government resists, the more devastating to itself will be the accommodation that must in any case come. The accommodation must come because of the growing splits among the Allies: France insists that West Germany be content with the present borders of Germany, but Adenauer refuses; West Germany and France unite economically to oust Great Britain from important European markets and to compete more effectively in Africa, and Great Britain seeks means of effective retaliation, especially together with the Scandinavian countries. West German coal barons cut off imports of U.S. coal, and U.S. coal-mining and railroad corporations howl in rage; U.S. investors buy out whole English industries--as aluminium and others--and the British bourgeoisie seek to retaliate with Commonwealth restrictions.

"And within each of the major 'Free World' powers, dissension grows...."

"All these forces, pressures and changes together have compelled Eisenhower to accept the Summit Meeting. True, his belated acceptance is still hedged on the outcome of the May Foreign Ministers' Conference; and the Administration will seek to have that Conference fail and then to beg off going to the Summit. But the odds are against Eisenhower's making it this time. The General has been dragged almost to the top; with enough pressure he can be forced to go over."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, May, 1959, pp. 54, 56.

"THE FIRST STEP toward a peaceful solution of the explosive German question and halting this drive to nuclear war is the neutralization and demilitarization of West Berlin. President Eisenhower's tentative agreement for a meeting with the Soviet Union on the foreign ministers' level can be a start in the right direction--but only if it is used as a stepping stone to an early summit conference...."

"At this critical juncture, the American people can make a major contribution to lessening world tensions, to safeguarding world peace. Just as their public pressure helped compel the Eisenhower Administration to step back from the brink of war in Lebanon and Quemoy--where the Secretary of State had pushed our country with his 'brinkmanship'--so, through popular demand, they can now help make our government negotiate at the Summit to peacefully resolve the Berlin and German crises, to ban nuclear tests and weapons, and to take serious steps toward world disarmament."

The Worker,
March 22, 1959, p. 15.

"... 'Diplomacy with muscle', as some commentators describe the attitude of Washington today is nothing but the discredited and fatal tactic of 'bargaining from strength'--Dulles' dead-end policy of brinkmanship that has brought us discredit and distrust throughout all the peoples of the world.

"Unquestionably a summit meeting to resolve tensions is No. 1 on the world agenda."

The Worker,
March 8, 1959, p. 14.

3. Cuba

"...We, the Communists, are the first to agree that the Cuban Revolution, in its present stage, is not Communist; it is not a proletarian revolution which would establish Socialism tomorrow. Those who scare easy, and those who want to scare everybody else with the ghost of Communism can rest assured and reassure their excited friends. Nobody in Cuba--not even the Communists--pretend to establish any kind of Communism of Socialism at this time."

"...the Cuban revolution is an advanced popular revolution, a patriotic and democratic, national-liberatin and agrarian revolution."

"Yes, we can simply say, this is the Cuban revolution, the revolution that will not halt, that must not halt, that must maintain its rhythm and, at the right time, must pass to its next stage, in search of greater social and national progress."

The Worker,
May 31, 1959, pp. 7, 11.

"SLOWLY but surely American imperialism, through news, radio and TV channels, is preparing U. S. public opinion for an open and shameless military intervention in Cuba.

"Every major financial interest that feels it might lose something if the ideas and ideals of Castro and the Cuban people are really implemented in law and given actual life in the everyday deeds of the Cuban government, is back of this well paid and organized campaign to show Castro as a Communist."

Since Castro has acted in the spirit of his humanistic New Dealist political philosophy, as F.D.R. did before him, he is a communist, says Wall Street, and must be eliminated from the Latin American political map."

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"...as Cuba builds and prospers, as it eliminates the stranglehold of American imperialisms, this propaganda will be a boomerang against colonialism and imperialism all over the world. Anti-communism against Castro and Cuba will be shown up for what it is, the last breath of imperialism in Cuba and the beginning of its systematic and disciplined elimination from Latin America."

The Worker,
May 24, 1959, p. 10.

"DR. FIDEL CASTRO, premier of new Cuba, landed in the U.S. with the wellwishes of millions in our nation. But the official welcoming committee in Washington rolled out no red carpet..."

"For days before Castro's arrival...virtually every newspaper in the land headlined some slanderous comment on the man who holds the highest office in the nation which recently ousted the Caribbean Hitler-- Fulgencio Batista. Batista, the renegade sergeant who tortured thousands to death, enjoyed the benediction of our State Department throughout his gory stay in office."

.

"... The unforgetting Bourbons who can't forgive FDR for his New Deal policies are the self-same corporation men who hold higher per capital investments in sugar-and-mineral-rich Cuba than they own in any other land on the globe. And they have held the people of the neighboring land to a living standard below one-fifth of ours."

"And so Castro, like FDR in our land, has in this past week been depicted as 'a stooge of the Kremlin', or 'a Peron of Argentina all over again', or 'a young, naive revolutionary' under the influence of 'infantile radicalism'..."

The Worker,
April 19, 1959, pp. 1, 14.

"THE NATIONAL executive committee of the Communist Party last week called on the American people to declare their support of a 'good neighbor policy of friendship to the Cuban people and their government of national liberation and democratic reform.'..."

"... 'Increasingly, it is recognized by Americans that the horrors of the Batista regime could not have been possible without the machinations, guidance and support of American imperialism and its political representatives. By the same token, it should be evident that the fresh horrors which Batista plots in his efforts to overturn the revolution could only be effectively perpetrated with the open or hidden support of the State Department and the FBI.' "

The Worker,
February 8, 1959, p. 3.

4. Communist China

"The policy of the United States Government, based on a complete distortion of reality, is devoted to the destruction of socialism in the world and, specifically as concerns China, is based on its destruction by boycott and blockade and via the 'liberating' potential of the armies of Chiang backed up by the naval and air force of the United States. Such a policy induces the hatred of the peoples of the world, endangers world peace, and puts the people of the United States in jeopardy of fighting a new war in the worst possible place, and against that power which, probably better than any other, would be able to sustain even nuclear assault. Hence, from every point of view--military, diplomatic, commercial, not to speak of moral--the present policy of our government vis-a-vis China is wrong and catastrophic.

"It is a policy which must be changed and which can be changed. There are considerable economic and commercial pressures building up among elements of the bourgeoisie in our own country for a change in this aspect, at least, of our foreign policy; and public opinion generally, is demanding more and more--as witness recent policy declarations by powerful church organizations--the recognition by the U.S. of China, its seating in the United Nations, and the termination of the economically absurd blockade of the 660 million people in China.

"We, who value the good name of our country and seek the welfare of our compatriots, must redouble our efforts to alarm the country as to the disaster implicit in the present State Department line towards China. Millions of our fellow citizens are ready for this message; they will join with us to bring about this needed change in governmental policy."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, June, 1959, pp. 44-45.

5. Support of Dictators

"The foreign policy of the United States Government, especially since 1945, has been geared towards establishing hegemony over the world by the American ruling class. Therefore, the policy has been thoroughly reactionary, militaristic, and aggressive; it is a policy which pauperizes the impoverished and chains the enslaved; it is a policy which has bulwarked monstrous tyrants--defunct and de facto--from Bao Dai to Batista, from Franco to Rhee, from Jimenez to Nuri Said, from Trujillo to Chiang. It is a policy that opposes democracy, national liberation, and Socialism..."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, April, 1959, p. 11.

"...DULLES...is pictured as the greatest Secretary of State ever. In reality, Dulles, (and his 'boss' Eisenhower)...kept the world teetering on the verge of the most terrible war imaginable, and they have been defeated in their efforts only by the peace pressure of the peoples here and abroad...."

"DULLES TRIED HARD to make his super-imperialism succeed...."

"...Since he took office he has made alliances with the world's reactionaries, including such elements as Adenauer, who has the solid backing of the German fascists; De Gaulle, the French pro-fascist dictator; Franco, the Spanish fascist; ultra-reactionaries such as Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee; the dictators and kings of Latin America and the Middle East; and... the Dalai Lama, the god-king of Tibet. Such nondescripts are all part of the 'free world.' "

"...the foreign policy of Wall Street, is the heart of reaction. Its main aim is the impossible one of turning society backwards and undoing the growth of world socialism. Equally unrealizable is its purpose of winning world domination for the United States. Boundless, too, in disaster is its aim of 'liberating' the socialist countries; that is, of abolishing their socialism through a great war."

"IN THE 1960 national elections in this country, if not sooner, the workers must deal a smashing blow to the sabre-rattlers, of whom Dulles has been the chief symbol. In the meantime, every effort must be put forth by the workers to protect themselves from the insatiable demands of the warmakers. This is what the world socialist forces, led ably by the

Soviet Union, are now doing with spectacular success. On the one hand they are preventing a reactionary world war; and on the other hand, they are developing socialism. This is the broad route of society's basic progress, against all the Dulleses and the like."

The Worker,
April 26, 1959, pp. 2, 14.

"...though the United States government allegedly favors democratic government and freedom generally, yet in order to assure the military capacities of states neighboring on the Socialist world and in order to maintain internal order within those states we pour enormous quantities of arms into their hands, build up their armies, and thus lay the groundwork for the seizure of power therein by naked and brutal military dictatorships...."

"...monopoly capitalism always has in the past chosen the path of naked dictatorship--that is, of fascism--and this again is a fundamental explanation of the developments of the past fifteen years in the implementation of U.S. foreign policy...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, March, 1959, pp. 38, 39.

6. Nuclear Weapons Ban

"The Eisenhower administration does not want agreement with the Soviet Union on Germany, Berlin, nuclear ban or anything else. It is still aiming at using West Germany as the center for atomic war against the USSR."

Editorial, The Worker,
April 5, 1959, p. 2.

"...how can we enjoy the flowers that bloom in the spring, when our government menaces our security with threats of war; when nuclear blasts loose the buzzards of strontium-90 to peck at our bones and blood; when a hydrogen bomb can sear the grass, stifle the bud and level us to dust?

"Spring is the time of birth and of the struggle for life.

"We'll have to get together with our neighbors and friends to write President Eisenhower to instruct our agents now in Geneva to agree at once with the Soviet Union on an immediate and complete end to nuclear tests and a ban on all atomic weapons."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 29, 1959, p. 2.

7. Anti-Semitism in West Germany

"...in West Germany...anti-semitism is spurting up like a geyser, unhindered, apparently even smiled upon by the government...."

"...In West Germany, despite repeated urging from Jews and progressive groups, no law against racist propaganda has ever been passed..."

"...about East Germany--the German Democratic Republic.... There is a law in the German Democratic Republic against racist propaganda, and the sentences are unpleasantly long. The fact is, there are not more anti-semites (in relation to population) in Germany as a whole than there are in the United States. On the contrary, anti-semitic prejudice in the United States is far more common than it ever was in Germany before Hitler. * Anti-semitism had to be worked up artificially by the Nazis. And it would have simmered down to practically nothing in West Germany after the war,

* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

as it has in East Germany, if the West German government had cared to pass a law against it. But our illustrious protege and NATO*ally, West Germany, did not care to pass such a law.

"The facts merit international attention, particularly in view of the Berlin crisis and the cooperation of Washington with the neo-fascist government in Bonn."

Edith Anderson, "They Are Beating the Jews Again," Mainstream, May, 1959, pp. 7, 8, 13.

8. Berlin Situation

"Germany is the trouble spot of Europe and the most immediate cause of a third world war. It is an everincreasing source of danger. Until the question is settled none of us, either in the U. S. A. or in the Soviet Union or in Britain, can feel safe. The settlement of the German question by means of a peace treaty would provide a basis for a general settlement, an end to the cold war, and disarmament.

"Berlin is the first step.

"After Berlin can come a German peace treaty and an atom-free zone in Europe. These are huge steps toward permanent peace. They would reverse the trend of the past ten years which has been towards war. The American people must know that their survival, and not only their prosperity, depends on peace.

"The Labor movement should throw in its full weight behind the struggle to bring about a peaceful settlement now, this year, when the opportunity presents itself."

The Worker,
May 17, 1959, p. 9.

*North Atlantic Treaty Organization

"THE CRUX of the Berlin question is not that of our 'deserting a free people,' as the President wants the American people to believe. If that were so, American imperialism and its bipartisan political representatives would not be rehabilitating the Krupps and Thyssens war criminals and rebuilding the aggressive German Wehrmacht.

"The core of the current Berlin crisis lies in the insistence of the Western powers to continue West Berlin as a center of military occupation, espionage and war provocation...."

The Worker,
March 22, 1959, p. 15.

9. War Threat

"IT LOOKS at though we had better have that summit meeting with the Soviet Union fast--before our trigger-crazy generals and admirals push us into a suicidal world-destroying war with their reckless bragging about being able to beat the Soviet Union this year with an overwhelming supply of nuclear weapons."

Editorial, The Worker,
April 5, 1959, p. 2.

"...we shall not spare ourselves in the struggle to prevent imperialist adventurers and a handful of monopolists--the merchants of death, from pushing our country into such a war whose outcome could only result in our national oblivion.

"Certain imperialist circles have brought great shame upon our country--in Latin America, the Middle East, Hungary, etc. Millions of our people are increasingly struggling to remove these stains from our national honor, to establish a new course in foreign affairs--to replace brinkmanship with peace, economic blackmail with fair trade practices, enmity against the countries of socialism with relations of friendship and coexistence!"

The Worker,
March 1, 1959, p. 4.

"The developing world crisis leads also to a sharpening of imperialist antagonisms as each imperialist power strives to protect its own monopolist interests at the expense of others, and to grab for itself a greater share of shrinking export markets for both goods and capital. American imperialism, in particular, seeks to use its dominant position and the dependence of other countries on its foreign 'aid' to strengthen itself at the expense of rivals. Encouragement is lent to aggressive, warmongering policies and to adventurist gambles, such as the sending of American troops into Lebanon or the more recent Quemoy incidents, which create an increased threat of war...."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Outlook Today," Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 26.

10. German Rearmament

"...World War II, was precipitated by the biggest monopolies of Germany who built Hitler up as their spokesman. Krupp, I. G. Farben, the Deutsche Bank, etc., all put money in the coffers of the Nazis and enabled them to come to power."

"The tragedy of today's politics is this: many of the men, and certainly the ideas, of those who aided Nazism in its rise to power are back again, in West Germany and here."

"...The Cold War has seen the restoration of Bonn Germany as a colossal force for destruction. The Big Business authority of the U.S. is rearming it, supplying the Hitler generals with hell-bombs."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 17, 1959, p. 2.

"In the main, the Cadillac Cabinet still runs the country: how objective can these capitalists be when they see that the socialist countries, paced by the Soviet Union, are storming ahead to new peaceful triumphs in industry, in agriculture, in social well-being?

"The archangels of capitalism would have us forget why the world was plunged into war in Hitler's day; would alter the reading of history so that we forget who Krupp is, (slave-trader for whom hundreds of thousands of captives from the East labored); and who his accomplices are."

"But those of us who remember--and who over 35 can forget--dare not remain silent while Hitler's ghost grins over Bonn today.

"Upon such Americans rests the responsibility of speaking out--demanding that the issues be settled by peaceful negotiation, not by war or the rattling of swords which leads to war...."

The Worker,
March 8, 1959, p. 14.

11. Peace Program

"...it is necessary for us Communists and other advocates of peace to wage a bolder and more consistent struggle within the labor movement for an affirmative peace program--such as for outlawing nuclear weapons and ensuring a constructive and fruitful policy of peaceful negotiations between the East and West, particularly between the U. S. A. and the USSR. And here the question of reaching agreement on establishing Berlin as a 'free city' and of bringing about negotiations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Government of Bonn for the reunification of Germany as a neutral and demilitarized nation and confederated state has become a most pressing problem. This is so because the rearming of West Germany with atomic weapons is creating new tensions and a serious war danger in the heart of Europe."

Eugene Dennis, "Post-Election Perspectives,"
Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 9.

"...End the cold war! Establish guarantees for peaceful competition, trade and exchange in all fields by agreements and treaties. End nuclear weapons tests by treaty as an immediate step leading to general disarmament. Recognize and establish normal peace relations with the People's Republic of China.' "

The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

"...the fate of America's working class--of the nation itself--is closely tied to that of the workers in all nations. It is intertwined with the struggles of other peoples for the right to determine their own destinies, for an end to colonial oppression everywhere. May Day is a day of interational brotherhood, a day for the expression of solidarity with the oppressed peoples of other lands of Latin America, the Middle East, Asia, Africa--for world peace, freedom and human welfare.

"For the American workers, May Day symolizes particularly the striving for peaceful coexictence and friendship of the United States and the Soviet Union."

The Worker,
May 3, 1959, p. 2.

12. Trade with Socialist Countries

"History has played a huge joke on the big-wigs of American capitalism. The only peaceful means of easing their economic problems open to them is that of trading with the Socialist world--one-third of mankind--which is growing tempestuously and can absorb tremendous quantities of consumer, industrial and agricultural commodities.

"... Millions of workers, now unemployed, would be put to work. It is the answer to a policy of prosperity by producing guns and not butter. But unless the people themselves, and first of all the organized workers, militantly fight for such a change in national policy, it is unlikely that it will come about spontaneously."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,
April, 1959, p. 59.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. The united action of all the people is needed to defeat the "reactionaries' " attacks on the Bill of Rights.
2. Government censorship of and influence over the content of American films is becoming apparent.
3. J. Edgar Hoover has ignored racist violence against the Negroes and has made the FBI the instrument of those who want to reduce the United States to a police state.
4. The "Wall Street Government Administration" fears the influence of The Worker, which has consistently supported the struggles of labor and the "exploited masses."
5. The Communist Party, guided by Marxist-Leninist science and united against revisionists, holds forth the reality of a socialist tomorrow.
6. The workers and their allies must build the foundation of a labor party from within the Democratic Party.
7. Federal assistance is needed if the United States housing crisis is to be met as that of the Soviet Union is being met.
8. A vital need exists for the establishment of a national health insurance program.
9. The danger of anticommunist propaganda cannot be underestimated, for it constitutes a major obstacle to the Communist Party.
10. Tax relief is necessary for low-income families.
11. Pressing social problems make more decisive the struggle of the Communist Party against monopoly capitalism.

12. The anti-Semitism charge against the Soviet Government is a vicious falsehood.
13. The Seven Year Plan of the Soviets is a tremendous challenge to the United States.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Bill of Rights Threatened

"LAST MONDAY the new five-judge majority of the U. S. Supreme Court, yielding to the pressures and threats of Congressional reactionaries and their Wall Street bosses, went a long way toward undermining the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights, whose guarantees the people of the various states demanded before they would ratify our U. S. Constitution in 1789.

"In upholding the Federal conviction of Lloyd Barenblatt for contempt of the House Un-Americans and the New Hampshire state contempt conviction of Dr. Willard Uphaus, the four rightwing Supreme Court justices, who had been made a majority by President Eisenhower's appointment of Potter Stewart of Ohio, ignored the demands of the American people in last November's elections for a broad liberal, democratic and progressive program for the nation.

"For those in the unions and other peoples' organizations who have up to now dismissed these actions as applying only to the Communist Party and individual Communists, last Monday's rulings should be a warning. Because under the guise of defense against 'communism', these decisions are direct assaults on the rights of free speech, free press and right to assemble peacefully guaranteed by the First Amendment and menace the liberties of labor, the Negro people and the vast majority of our nation."

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"The Eisenhower Supreme Court majority now has opened the flood gates for the reactionaries...."

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"Yet the reactionary advance can be stemmed. This is not 1951, when the McCarthyites held sway. The people have found that it is possible to defeat the witchhunters, the redbaiters, the union-haters, the anti-Semites.

"But this latest onslaught will not be pushed back by reliance on the promises of politicians in Washington or any state capital who, in the last analysis, will always heed Wall Street. It will be won only by united independent action of organized labor, the Negro people and all other democratic forces. And it will not be defeated only by politicking in legislative halls. The rank and file will have to be alerted and mobilized.

"Last November showed how it can be done. Up to then Big Business had been having its way in every state where it proposed its union-shackling 'right-to-work' laws. The state legislatures had run roughshod over the representatives of labor who had appeared to protest. But in 1958, the unions mobilized the rank and file, who forged a united front with all their neighbors to defeat the 'right-to-work' laws at the polls in five states.

"It is this type of united people's action that will be needed if the present attacks on the Bill of Rights by the Supreme Court majority, the Eisenhower administration and Congress are to be beaten. And they can be beaten."

Editorial, The Worker
June 14, 1959, p. 2.

2. Government Censorship

"...the U. S. Information Agency banned 82 Hollywood films from overseas showings from April 1957 to April 1958 alone, George Allen, USIA director, reluctantly revealed to the House Appropriations Subcommittee. He tried to keep the bannings secret. For after all the USIA's job is to propagandize American 'freedom' to the world."

"THE SERIOUSNESS of the State Department's 'silent censorship' is seen by the fact that almost 50 percent of the box office receipts of Hollywood films nowadays come from overseas. If a film is banned by USIA the aesthetics of its profits is drastically limited. And bankers who financed it and Hollywood companies who made it will think twice before making another like it.

"Not even during the McCarthy heyday, therefore, has there been such comprehensive government influence over the content of films.

"IT IS NOT SEX, but politics and social significance to which the censors object. Hollywood films thus get sexier and sexier and less and less significant. Not that sex is insignificant. But sex does not 'embarrass' Eisenhower's foreign policy of rearming Germany, as USIA film chief, Turner Sheldon, said, in the way that 'All Quiet On The Western Front' does."

The Worker,
June 14, 1959, p. 10.

3. J. Edgar Hoover and FBI

"THE ATTITUDE of J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief, toward the lynching of Negroes 'has filled the racists with a feeling that they have immunity from the federal government, William Patterson, Worker general manager said last week.

"Hoover 'should be summarily removed'...

" 'Hoover has ignored the racist violence against American Negroes no less than Himmler ignored and furthered the persecution of Jews in Hitler's Germany,' Patterson said.

" 'Never before in the history of our country has the police power of the Federal Government been used as today under Hoover's direction as a weapon of terror against the truly progressive and democratic force.

" 'J. Edgar Hoover has made of the FBI the instrument of those who like the late Joseph McCarthy would reduce the United States to a police state.

" 'From the days when J. Mitchell Palmer was attorney general and no man who respected Constitutional liberty was safe from illegal arrest through the wild anti-Communist hysteria loosed by McCarthy, J. Edgar Hoover has been America's number one gendarme.' "

The Worker,
May 17, 1959, p. 16.

4. Influence of The Worker

"Friday, June 5, Harry Schwartz of the N. Y. Times called the Worker twice. The Times management had read our appeal for funds. Harry Schwartz was assigned to investigate...."

"Yes, it is true, the multimillion dollar Times is concerned about the continued appearance of the financially distressed weekly Worker. What news!"

"THE TIMES, its advertisers and the Wall Street Government Administration fear the Worker's influence. How otherwise would you account for the constant harassment by the Internal Revenue Department? How account for the frequent metropolitan press attacks? How explain the chronic badgering, the subpoenas to appear before Congressional Committees which snap at us while smiling at the terrorist White Citizens Councils.

"Those social forces appreciate the weight of our arguments. They know that the Worker is the free press. Edited by understaffed, underpaid, dedicated men and women, these forces know that if the Worker reaches the people its logic must make thought-stirring and action-stirring impacts.

"Compare the Worker's coverage of Cuba, the Accra All African People Conference, the N. Y. hospital strike, congressional attacks upon labor, the terror of the White Supremacists and the government policy that sustains it with the reports of Times correspondents, whose interpretations reflect the interests of big business."

"Over the years, contrast the Times and the Worker's approach to social security, the organization of the CIO and the unemployed, and the struggles of Negroes against the murderous consequences of the myths of white superiority. Compare the approach of the two toward the workers and peasants, who having won power under Socialism, are solving the problems of housing, education, employment, production.

"The Worker points the way for you to vistas which the Times knows are ahead but fears and seeks to hide."

The Worker,
June 14, 1959, p. 15.

"OUR FOREIGN EDITOR, Joseph North, was invited to attend the international conference of foreign editors in Prague held under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists..."

"North, who could not attend... did however send his speech to the conference. Excerpts from his speech and message appear below:"

"...WHAT DO WE find in this country whose governors point to the existence of my newspaper as proof that we here exercise freedom of press. I contend that it is virtually impossible at this moment to get my newspaper before the widest reaches of the public. For example: only one percent of the news-dealers in New York carry the Worker-- only some 100 among ten thousand. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has been to see them, and warned them they may lose their franchise to sell newspapers altogether if they sell mine..."

The Worker,
June 21, 1959, p. 6.

"The Worker has been in the forefront of struggle since its creation. It has always sided with labor, the Negro people, the exploited farmers, the mortgaged interests.

"The Worker was founded as an ideological and political weapon of the working class. A young but growing Communist Party saw the need of the American people for such a press. The militant vanguard of labor needed a voice that would interpret news that is news--the struggle of the people against unemployment, the mounting costs of living, wars and for social security--in terms of labor's interests."

"Thirty-five years of age. The road ahead will be easier than the road we look back on. The world for which the Worker speaks--that of labor and the exploited masses--will grow easier, for the imperialist bloc of states is steadily losing the confidence of thinking mankind."

The Worker,
February 22, 1959, pp. 8, 9.

5. Challenges Facing Communist Party

"...our Party--guided by Marxist-Leninist science applied to our native land--holds forth the invincible reality of Socialism tomorrow, in a world already astounded by the miracles of human betterment achieved in the Soviet Union, China and other Socialist lands."

"The renewal of political persecution against our Party and the left, the threatened imprisonment of Bob Thompson, the refusal to free Henry Winston and Gilbert Green, the re-opening of Smith Act trials against Communist leaders--all of these attest the failure of the monopoly-controlled Eisenhower Administration to subvert our Party from within primarily through the revisionist capitulators as well as through the ultra-left phrasemongers. Vainly they will try to accomplish from without what they could not from within. In building its ties with the masses, and in fighting for democracy, for Negro and Puerto Rican equality, for labor and for peace, our Party is forging an unbreakable internal unity, and a higher fighting morale."

"The circulation of our press must be built; mass literature and leaflets must be published and distributed; meetings must be held; schools and education in scientific socialism need to be expanded; new and creative initiatives to contribute to the vital interests and struggles of labor and the masses have to be mounted. These are some of the challenging tasks which our party must be equipped to meet, tasks which can be solved only as we participate self-sacrificingly in the struggles for the most elementary needs of labor and the people--Negro and white."

The Worker,
May 17, 1959, p. 15.

"We are beginning to climb out of the slump of the recent period but we have much to do before we shake off the full effects of revisionism and reach the high road of mass work and party building, and restore fully the militancy, self-sacrifice Marxist-Leninist consciousness and methods of work so essential for our success. This will take the greatest exertion of all party members and particularly of the active rank and file and leadership forces of the party. But it will be done."

The Worker,
May 31, 1959, p. 6.

6. Building a Labor Party

"Monopoly capital rules the United States politically through the so-called two-party system. This system is made up of the Republican and Democratic parties, typical capitalist parties, both of which, although in somewhat different ways, are controlled by big capital. Their policies are very much alike...."

.....

"For many years, the monopolists have kept much of the political discontent and strength of the American working class locked within the two-party system. This condition is now evidently drawing to a close, although there are no prospects now for a third party in 1960. There is a gradual ripening of the workers for sharp political struggles, which could eventually break the two-party system...."

"The deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system, is presenting many problems to the workers, which they cannot possibly find answers for under the traditional two-party system. They will be compelled to move towards more militant forms of economic and political action. This will enable them to throw their real mass strength into the struggle, which they cannot do as long as they are tied politically under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. Besides the rising militancy of

the workers, another factor of great importance is the increased interest and activity of the Left wing in doing political work inside of the two capitalist parties. From time immemorial, the bulk of the Left forces have demurred at working inside these parties...

"Now, however, adopting protective measures against these deadly dangers, the workers are fast becoming convinced that they must put up a real fight in the old parties as the first step to more extensive independent political action.... The Communist Party, however, is now greatly widening its activities in this general direction, upon a much broader scale than ever. The Party must be prepared to work resolutely within the old parties, and to avoid needless and premature splits.

"At the present stage, the work in the old parties consists of the systematic organization of the program and organic strength of labor in the Democratic (and Republican) Party. There must be a clear mass presentation of labor's demands to the American people... Organizing themselves far better than ever before, the workers need to mobilize their forces to support labor and progressive candidates, and defeat reactionaries. The workers must everywhere take a leading part in organizing this political work.... The workers and their allies must, in short, build the skeleton of the labor party primarily within the ranks of the Democratic Party...."

William Z. Foster, "The Struggle for a Mass Labor Party in the U.S.," Political Affairs, May, 1959, pp. 1, 11, 12-13.

"THE OUTSTANDING feature of the California elections was the role and unity of the labor movement, which resulted in the overwhelming defeat of Knowland and 'right-to-work' Proposition 18...."

"The elections show that labor and its allies still operate through the Democratic Party, and there are no important signs of breakaways from these ties. Some in the Left and the Party tend to ignore this, and have advocated abortive third-party moves or, in some cases the limiting of activities to Proposition 18 and certain other propositions on the ballot.

"We must hold firmly to a policy of working within the main channels through which labor and the Negro people operate in these elections. At the same time, it is important that labor and the Mexican-American people continue to strengthen the important developments toward independent political action which developed during this election struggle."

Albert J. Lima, "The California Elections," Political Affairs, February, 1959, pp. 36, 39.

7. Housing Crisis

"...both the U. S. and the USSR are confronted with serious housing problems. To a certain extent, these problems have been caused by similar development in both countries. The war and postwar years witnessed tremendous population shifts both here and in the Soviet Union. One important shift--the movement of the rural population to the city--was due to the rapid industrial advances made by both countries. These large scale movements of population put a strain on the existing housing supply in the cities. This situation causes severe overcrowding in both Soviet and American city housing.

"But at this point the similarity ends...."

"HOUSING construction in the U. S. has been on the downgrade since 1950, its peak year. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, it has, with the exception of 1952, improved every year. In relation to the number of city dwellers, Soviet housing has increased markedly between 1950 and 1957 while U. S. housing fell precipitously. The number of Soviet dwelling units built per 1,000 city dwellers rose by 50 per cent; the number of U. S. dwellings dropped by 37 percent."

"There is little doubt that the Soviet people will succeed in ending their housing shortage. Living in a society where housing is build to satisfy human needs rather than profits, they will not encounter the obstacles the people in a capitalist society have to face. No landlords, no real estate interests, no mortgage bankers will stand in their way."

The Worker,
May 10, 1959, pp. 8, 9.

"... it becomes increasingly obvious that no housing program for Chicago on the scale necessary to meet the urgent needs is possible without vast federal assistance....

"But it is becoming increasingly clear that Congress has no ear for such pleas....

"There are those in Congress who say that this is the price which must be paid for being a first-class world power in the space age.

"The Soviet Union, which even Dulles admits is a first class world power of the space age, has shown that such a price need not be exacted from the people. It has just announced a program to build 15 million new dwelling units in seven years.

"If the Soviet Union's plans for raising the living standards of its people are the challenge to the United States that the State Department claims them to be, then billions for armaments and a pittance for housing is no way to meet that challenge. To the millions who are the victims of the growing housing crisis, a challenge to peaceful competition with the USSR in home-building would be welcome, indeed."

The Worker,
March 22, 1959, p. 13.

8. National Health Insurance

"...the national government continues to shift the responsibility of health care to the state and local governments, while it continues its mountainous spending for armaments..."

"Yet the crisis in medical care proves that the 'free enterprise principle of the market place' applied to health, brings results even more inhumane than the other well-known ravages of the economic system.

"That is why the fight for... a National Health Insurance Program, is so vitally important. The fight for life and health in mid-century U. S. A. necessitates a fight to drastically reduce the highly excessive arms spending, a fight to increase federal aid to medical care. The fight for health and medical care is an integral part of the fight to end the cold war."

The Worker,
April 5, 1959, p. 13.

9. Anticommunist Propaganda

"...imperialism fears Marxism-Leninism, especially since World War II in which the Soviet Union made the major contribution in defeating fascist Germany, after which came the birth of People's China and a series of colonial revolutions. Now imperialism has embarked on a frenzied effort to reach the minds of the people. 'In these conditions,' says the 12-Party Declaration, * 'the imperialist bourgeoisie attaches increasing importance to the ideological molding of the masses; it misrepresents and smears Marxism-Leninism, misleads and confuses the masses.'

"It is in this light, surely, that we must understand the tremendous flood of writings about Communism by the enemies* of Communism...."

*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

"... The resources that can blow up millions of dollars weekly in atomic experiments and throw away more millions of military aid to Chiang need have no difficulty in paying for anti-Communist propaganda.

"The danger of this propaganda must not be underestimated. It constitutes major obstacle to the party of Ruthenberg and Foster, and must be met by comprehending and disseminating the truth to the best of our ability. That truth points to the indispensable and noble contributions made by the Communist Party to the struggle here for equality, well-being, democracy, labor organization, peace, and Socialism."

Oakley C. Johnson, "Ruthenberg and the Party's Founding," Political Affairs, March, 1959, pp. 12-13.

10. Tax Relief

"WE WORKING people were softened up for this tax squeeze during World War II, when the withholding tax was instituted as a so-called emergency measure, which would be only temporary, and the exemptions were cut to \$600.

"Once Wall Street's Washington tax collector got his grip on our wages before we even got a chance to see them, we were really in his power. It was like a bill collector getting a judge to garnishee your pay. You end up by not seeing much of your pay from then on."

"We believe that the only equality of taxation is that which is based on the ability to pay...."

"We think such a program would call for, first of all, the raising of exemptions of lower-income families so they couldn't be hit by the income tax; stopping up all the tax loopholes benefiting the rich, increasing the tax rate of the wealthy, and abolishing all sales taxes."

Editorial, The Worker,
February 15, 1959, pp. 2, 16.

11. Communist Party versus Monopoly Capitalism

"...the structure of the economy of the United States is that of monopoly capitalism.

"...this classical foe of U.S. radicalism is very much in existence; and its impact on expropriating the farmers; bankrupting the smaller businessmen; concentrating in greater and greater numbers the employment of workers; controlling, corrupting, and determining governmental policies--on all levels--continues with ever-increasing force. Given such conditions, latest developments and innovations--including automation and atomic energy--will tend to aggravate, not resolve already pressing social problems and inequities. Hence, from this point of view the perspective for an American Left should be that of greater and greater usefulness and more and more decisive struggles."

Herbert Aptheker, "Perspectives for the American Left." Mainstream,
April, 1959, pp. 7-8.

"...it is essential that we understand that the strategic objective of the struggle for democracy at this juncture in our country is to curb monopoly power--an objective that can lead toward the establishment of a people's antimonopoly government, led by labor, and open the way for the working class and its allies to move forward to socialism.

"The deepening constitutional crisis in the South, the profound crisis in U. S. foreign policy, the acute crisis in education and the insecurity of the young generation, and the aggravated crisis of unemployment and automation--all point up the fact that our people and country urgently need a people's democratic coalition, under sound working-class leadership, to curb the monopolies, to muster the broadest political alliance and mass movements to defeat the atom-maniacs, the racists and open-shoppers.

"We Communists must be second to none in facilitating and promoting all such trends and developments--no matter how crude and rudimentary these may be in their initial stages...."

Eugene Dennis, "Post-Election Perspectives,"
Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 14.

12. Anti-Semitism

"...the State Department as part of their cold war, aided by Jewish bourgeois, Zionist and Social-Democratic leaders, have carried on a frenzied campaign against the Soviet Union, slandering and distorting the situation of Jews in this great land of Socialism.

"Seizing on the errors and crimes committed in shutting down Jewish cultural organizations and executing a number of prominent and creative Jewish intellectuals in the period 1948-1952, they have been carrying on a crusade to the effect that anti-Semitism exists in government policy and that Jewish culture is being deliberately restricted and destroyed.

"The Communist Party has fought against this slanderous drive as being part of the cold war. While condemning the errors and crimes, it rejected the hysterical attempts to condemn the Soviet Union as anti-Semitic."

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"THE CHARGE of anti-Semitism as a policy of the Soviet government and party is a monstrous lie. While there are small remnants of anti-Semitism among some backward elements of the Soviet people the government and the party are free of this accursed heritage of capitalism and Czarism."

"It is urgent that all democratic-minded Jewish people direct their concerted attack against their real enemy--imperialist, anti-Semitic and racist monopoly capital."

The Worker,
January 18, 1959, p. 14.

13. Challenge of the Soviet Seven Year Plan

"...Soviet citizens voted with unanimity and great enthusiasm to adopt the Seven Year Plan of the central committee of the CPSU, which had been presented by Khrushchev in a seven hour report after a week of debate and discussion.

"This act was the most striking affirmation of the unity of will of the Soviet people, party, and government in their confident expectation of and resolute dedication to the cause of peace. For above all else, the Seven Year Plan is a peace plan. It casts no covetous eye on the territory or treasure of other peoples or countries. It is wholly concerned with the improvement of the material and cultural well-being of Soviet life."

"The challenge of the 21st Congress and the Seven Year Plan to the United States is just this: Stop all war threats, the Soviet people cannot be frightened. See, they are busy with peaceful labors for the next fifteen years. Be friends with them. Settle all disputed questions peacefully at the Summit conference tables. Friendship can mean trade and jobs for our workers too out of this vast development program. War threats and brinkmanship can only lead us to ruin and a great disaster to all mankind."

The Worker,
April 19, 1959, p. 16.

"...Nikita Khrushchev's speech, delivered at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of his country...has reverberated throughout the world.

"Dedicated to the peaceful growth of the economy, the well-being of the USSR, and to world peace, it lays down the target points for the Seven Year Plan. Five years after these goals are reached the socialist system expects to surpass the total production annually, the rate of productivity per worker, of the United States. And simultaneously to provide its people with the highest wage and living standard of the world, as well as the shortest work-day."

"...we suggest everybody read the Khrushchev speech: truly, it embodies the supreme challenge of our time. How can man best safeguard his existence, the world's security, his happiness and his peace? Yes, there is much in Khrushchev's speech for every non-socialist, as well as socialist, to ponder, both from the viewpoint of preserving peace and improving their well-being NOW, as well as considerations of the future."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 1, 1959, p. 2.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Progress in organizing labor in the South is hindered by the same type of violence and intimidation that is practiced against the Negroes.
2. The New York hospital workers' strike is the first great battle to improve conditions of the unorganized, underpaid Negro and Puerto Rican workers.
3. Jobs and job security are the workers' main issues in the steel negotiations, which the steel companies are opposing by playing on the public's fear of inflation.
4. Automation has made an immediate issue of the fight for the six-hour day at eight hours' pay.
5. The outlook for the jobless is grim because unemployment and economic crises are inherent in and inevitable under capitalism.
6. Automation, decentralization, and speed-up are the causes of unemployment.
7. Unity of action is imperative to achieve labor's demands.
8. Manifest weaknesses of leadership in the trade-union movement can be exploited by the Communist Party to bring the workers closer to socialist consciousness.
9. The House Committee on Un-American Activities again has been shown as an enemy of organized labor and all "democratic minded" people.
10. The jobless and those employed workers facing mass layoffs are taking steps against unemployment.
11. Left labor forces must push their program within the framework of the two major political parties.
12. The American ruling class is extracting maximum profits from "their own" working class.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Labor Violence in the South

"WHILE THE SPOTLIGHT is on the terror against the Negro people in the southern states, the labor movement is again learning the lesson that this terror doesn't stop at a color line. There is a parallel drive of violence--essentially by the very forces who carry out a lynch policy--directed at the trade unions."

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"... The object of the terrorists is clearly to discourage even the start of that long awaited organizing drive to change the South from a base of reaction to a base of progress.

"The southern lynchers know that one of the first results of labor organizing progress in the south would be the protection of equal rights for ALL. It should also be clear to the unions that the South will not be open to organization until the Southern air and life is made free for ALL."

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"It is the south that sends to Congress the reactionaries and allies of the northern Wall Street monopolists, the combination most responsible for anti-labor legislation. There will be no real change in the political situation in the country and the defensive position labor now holds, until there is a change in our southland."

Editorial, The Worker,
June 7, 1959, p. 2.

2. Hospital Workers' Strike

"As the month-long strike of N. Y. hospital workeres continued, with the big majority of the affected Negro and Puerto Rican workers

determined and militant, the union-haters invoked the 'red scare.' The N. Y. Times on the front page of its May 31 issue printed as part of its headline over the hospital story, 'Distribution of Red Paper Reported.'

"The Times reference was to the special four-page flyer issued by the Worker on the strike and distributed to thousands of New Yorkers, including strikers. It contained material on the strike and editorials published earlier in these columns, stressing the stake in the strike for labor and especially for the Negro and Puerto Rican people of the city, and called for unstinted support of that struggle. We are happy to note that many of our supporters are actively engaged in the struggle."

"We will certainly continue to support every struggle that lifts the welfare of the people...."

The Worker,
June 14, 1959, pp. 3, 14.

"THE STRIKE of N. Y. hospital workers under the leadership of the Hospital Division of Local 1199, adds another glorious page to the history of the workers of America."

"This struggle is the most important step yet taken to bring union conditions to the tens of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in the city who are among the lowest paid and most abused. Ninety percent of the affected workers are of those two groups."

"...nothing should be spared in effort or material resources, to strengthen the strike. This must be regarded as the first great battle for hundreds of thousands of still unorganized workers in New York City, especially Negro and Puerto Rican workers. If it is won, the job will be all the easier for organizing the rest, and wage levels ranging from as low as \$21 weekly will go out of the window."

"The N. Y. labor movement took on the hospitals and must follow through with the challenge. It dare not lose this fight!"

Editorial, The Worker,
May 31, 1959, p. 2.

3. Steel Negotiations

"IT HAS BECOME apparent that the tactic of the employers is to emphasize the relatively higher steel wages in order to play on public fear of inflation and to heighten the old boss-line propaganda that wage raises boost the cost of living.

"It has become evident also that the employers seek to divert the negotiations from the No. 1 issue among the workers--jobs and job security...."

"...despite the record rate of operations, 50,000 are unemployed in basic steel, with as many more fabricating workers jobless....

"ALL THE FACTS pouring out of the steel negotiations to the public spell just one big fact: the main issue is jobs--how to preserve them for the 510,00 now working and restore them to the tens of thousands no longer wanted and doomed to stay out of steel forever."

The Worker,
May 17, 1959, p. 14.

"The steel workers have given a fighting answer to the steel monopolists now riding high on a skyrocket of profits powered by labor's increased productivity and an artificially inspired sales 'boom.'..."

"The steel unionists have not only declared they will not permit Wall Street to saddle them with the costs of the economic recession and with the burden of increased productivity to create super-profits; they have also declared they will not be frightened by the Steel Trust, which is trying to provoke a strike while it digests the profits it grabbed in panic orders induced with propaganda about a strike in July."

"Undoubtedly, every other union will rally to the steel workers' support.

"But it will not be enough for the national leaderships of unions to act. The Steel Trust and the rest of Wall Street have mobilized a tremendous force. Eisenhower parrots their phony propaganda about 'inflation' if the workers win a pay hike. Practically every newspaper is supporting the bosses' refusal to consider wage increases. Every local chamber and business organization is being pressed into service against the steel workers' just demands.

"To counteract this poisonous attack, working people and friends of labor in every locality will have to mobilize backing for the steel union through their locals, community organizations, letters to the newspapers and every other form of publicity."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 10, 1959, p. 2.

4. Six-Hour Day

"...Modern industrial technology has brought the world automation, and millions of flesh-and-blood American workers have become displaced persons in this, the richest country in the world, because labor-saving machinery means greater dividends for Wall Streets.

"Under capitalism, what should be a blessing becomes a curse, to alleviate which the workers are compelled to battle for a thirty-hour week at forty hours' pay."

The Worker,
May 3, 1959, p. 2.

"... Establish the 30-hour week with no cut in weekly pay. Such an immediate measure is necessary to give some of the benefits of automation to the working people, and to help put America back to work. National legislation and enforcement can make it a reality."

The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

"YOUNGSTOWN, O...."

"THIS IS AMERICA'S most depressed steel town. Its production rate is more than 10 percent below the industry's average. And most of the 20,000 jobless appear to be out of the mills until the SIX HOUR DAY, at 8-hours' pay, is won.

"Most of Youngstown's steel locals have endorsed Six Hours already. But workers know it will only be won by a fight. For the shorter work day is bitterly opposed by the steel companies, who have been making big profits throughout the depression."

"MEANWHILE speed-up methods and automatic machinery and out and out automation are cutting job opportunities day by day.

"The job squeeze-out goes on in every department of every Youngstown plant from blast furnaces to finishing mills."

The Worker,
February 15, 1959, p. 3.

"Employers have always answered demands for shorter hours with a Big Lie. 'We haven't got the money,' they say.

"Steel bosses play that record today, while Automation lengthens the jobless lines.

"We can't afford shorter hours, the Steel spokesmen are saying on the eve of union-management negotiations.

"The same tune was played 40 years ago.

" 'We can't afford the Eight-Hour Day,' the Steel Trust said in the Great Steel Strike of 1919, when workers rebelled against the Twelve-Hour Day."

"AUTOMATION, however, has made the Eight-Hour slogan obsolete in 1959....

"Six Hours cannot be dismissed as a will of the wisp any more. The mighty Soviet Union is installing the Six Hour shift in heavy industry and in other jobs, where labor is especially hard. And the long-hour propagandists won't be very convincing when they tell American workers not to follow the 'Red' example.

"So on with the Six Hour crusade!..."

The Worker,
May 3, 1959, p. 10.

5. Unemployment under Capitalism

"...as of 1959...we see that more than five million are jobless. Unemployment remains a stubborn illness, tantamount to a cancer, in our industrial society. How come? Unemployment is built in quality of capitalism where economic crises are inevitable.

"The outlook for the jobless today is grim. Eisenhower scoffingly proposes to cut off federal outlays for supplementary unemployment insurance at the very moment when Labor proposes a march to Washington to emphasize the harrowing plight of the nation's unemployed.

"The jobless, and those who fear unemployment, and the many other millions who suffer the enormous tensions of making ends meet even while

employed, what does it profit them that we have the 'strongest horse' today? i. e. the biggest annual output, the highest rate of productivity. It guarantees neither employment, nor the constant expansion of our economy. In fact, the monopolists increasingly curtail production, and strive for maximum profits with an increased reserve army of the unemployed. "

Editorial, The Worker,
March 1, 1959, p. 2.

"OUR BOSSES' GREED has certainly gotten us working people into one terrible mess. First their hungry grab for profits brings on the economic recession and they lay off millions of us, because it becomes unprofitable for them to produce at a high rate. Then they use the recession period to increase production of the workers still on the job with the threat of layoffs, speedup and new machinery. "

"Of course, we workers will never find a final and complete solution to unemployment as long as we have bosses and their capitalist economy. Because the system is wearing out and its machinery is breaking down and grinding to a halt all too often, when production becomes too great for the bosses to make a profit. And even worse, the monopolists are now not even thinking of running their factories at full capacity at any time. They're figuring out how to make and increase their profits with less production and increased productivity. "

"Maybe, we ought to begin studying why we have so many economic crises, depressions and recessions with recurring unemployment and all the suffering it brings to practically every working class family. And this doesn't happen only in our country, but in every country where capitalism still exists.

"And maybe we ought to start trying to figure out why in the Soviet Union and People's China and the other countries that have gone socialist not

only don't they have unemployment, but there is no perspective of layoffs in the future and everything keeps getting better for the working people. "

Editorial, The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 8.

"In the Soviet Union there has been no unemployment since 1930 and there are jobs waiting for all as soon as they are ready. In People's China there still aren't enough people for all the jobs available.

"In our own country, capitalism brought permanent unemployment to millions last year, while in the Soviet Union, workers got a shorter work day in coal, steel and other industries, while increasing output seven percent.

"This indicates the difference between capitalism and socialism, the difference between despair and hope, between insecurity and security. There is nothing wrong in our country that socialism can't cure. "

Editorial, The Worker,
April 26, 1959, p. 2.

6. Causes of Unemployment

"The Chicago Stockyards, once the meat supplier for a large part of the nation, has been beset by a triple scourge that has brought unemployment and misery in its wake--automation, decentralization and just plain unvarnished speedup. "

"A recent showdown meeting between representatives of 19 packing local and company spokesmen was described by the Packinghouse Worker, organ of the United Packinghouse Workers, as follows:

" 'Like a volcano simmering with pent up pressures, deep felt resentment against job losses, speed-up, and the general chiselling-on-the-contract attitude of company supervisors sent more than one shock wave across the long conference table where a four man company team faced some 40 outspoken UPWAers. '

"In 1956, when the UPWA signed its master agreement with the company there were 22,000 workers on the payroll. By the end of 1958 the number had been reduced to 15,150, a loss of more than 25 percent.

"While this decline would be tragic for the workers in any industry, it is especially so in Packing, where so many are Negroes and old timers. Those forced out of work are often thrown on relief, and in almost all instances are unable to get comparable employment."

The Worker,
March, 15, 1959, p. 10.

"DETROIT.--Effect of speedup, automation and decentralization are shown in the first quarterly reports of 1959 car output, which show increase of more than 29 percent over the same period last year.

"Half a million auto workers are out of jobs in the U. S. and Canada with the greater proportion never having been called back to work on the 1959 model."

The Worker,
April 12, 1959, p. 12.

"The principal forms through which the U. S. ruling class is moving to secure maximum profits at home are automation, speed-up, and militarization. The ability of the American worker to produce is at a new high level. Man hours needed to produce a ton of steel in the first quarter of 1958 were 10.3 hours. In the third quarter of the same year only 9.1 hours were required. The October 1958 issue of Fortune Magazine* stated: 'The big news of the past quarter was not the recovery in output; that was assured. What was really sensational was the sudden spurt of productivity output per man hour.'..."

Milton Rosen, "The Party and the Labor Movement," Political Affairs, May, 1959, p. 17.

*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

7. Labor Unity Necessary

"What is required... is the unity of action and the maximum unfoldment of the independent political organization and activity of labor, the Negro people and all other democratic forces at all levels. What is required is sustained and expanding intervention by labor and its allies in public affairs--locally, statewide and nationally--along the lines of the positive experiences of labor's recent crusade against 'right to work' legislation."

Eugene Dennis, "Post-Election Perspectives," Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 7.

"ALL COMMUNIST PARTY clubs were called on early in March by the party's national executive committee to make the week of March 14 to 21 a 'period of concentrated national effort on behalf of the unemployed and their families.' "

"... 'Every party club... should undertake specific responsibilities in a renewed national endeavor to stimulate and participate on a united front basis in mass people's activities and above all union activities in support of effective programs on behalf of the unemployed and their families.

"The party executive said that 'central among the issues is... the mounting mass movement for a 30-hour week without reduction in pay, throughout the labor and people's movement.

" 'Along with the 30-hour movement the letter said, 'are such issues around which large sections of workers are already in motion, as:

" 'Enactment of stronger FEP legislation at all levels of local, state and Federal government.

" 'Extention and increase of unemployment insurance benefits.

" 'Extended supplementary unemployment benefits.

" 'Higher relief standards and free food distribution.

" 'Moratoriums on all debt installment plan collections. ' "

The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 9.

"THE AFL-CIO's MASS unemployment conference in Washington was the opening gun in labor's nationwide campaign 'to put America back to work. ' "

"THE JOBLESS PARLEY was not only a warning to the White House and Congress. It also served notice on Meany and all labor leaders now dragging their feet that the workers want action. . . . "

"... the bosses' offensive against our jobs has to be beaten back now. It can be done. The working people showed how in the Thirties, when the rank-and-file, under the leadership of the Communists and other progressives, organized in the Unemployed Councils and Workers Alliance for relief, public works jobs, old-age pensions and unemployment insurance--and won! And because the employed workers at that time united with the jobless they won wage hikes and shorter work-week during an economic crisis--for the first time in U. S. history.

"Unity was the key to success then--militant rank-and-file solidarity without red-baiting or any other divisive activity. And unity can win now. "

Editorial, The Worker,
April 19, 1959, p. 2.

"Six months have passed since the cheers went up for the antireactionary sweep in last November's elections. Labor leaders then

boasted that 70 percent of the labor-endorsed candidates were elected. Many predictions were made then that the long-blocked people's program would be enacted for a drastic 'liberalization' of the Taft-Hartley Law; civil rights legislation with teeth; improvements in minimum wage, social security and unemployment compensation; expansion in housing, school, hospital construction; comprehensive 'anti-depression' measures, and similar steps.

"But as Congressmen's thoughts turn to adjournment, there is hardly a sign of enactment of any significant part of labor's legislative program. And the wheels are turning definitely and swiftly for legislation that could make this congress as bad as if not worse than, the infamous 1947 Taft-Hartley Congress."

"... The Kennedy-Ervin bill should and still can be defeated, if labor, in mass action, shows a united, determined and militant front against it.

"Labor should do more. Representatives of all labor organizations need to come together without delay to seriously and frankly ponder the question: 'Where is labor going?'..."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 24, 1959, p. 2.

8. Socialism in Trade-Union Movement

"...the class struggle in our country is growing sharper. American workers will not be patsies, will not roll over and play dead for their masters, and will not wait endlessly for leadership from their trade-union officials.

"There is a tremendous vacuum developing in the trade-union movement today...."

"Our Party has to begin to fill this vacuum in the trade-union movement. But it is not sufficient for us merely to echo the demands of the trade-

union leaders, or just to fight for the positive proposals that emanate from the labor hierarchy....

"Our program must deal with many questions in addition to the shorter work-week. Even on the question of the shorter work-week, we have to see that unless a militant struggle develops in the shops around speedup, the ability to win the shorter work-week will be hamstrung. So long as the trade-union leadership subscribes to armaments as a cure for unemployment, the movement for a short work-week will be limited...."

"In addition to the failures of the leadership, the working class itself is today saddled with a series of concepts in regard to collective bargaining which limits its ability to win decisive changes. What is necessary now is a new concept.."

"The workers must demand the right to negotiate their rate of production."* In auto, so many men at so many hours to make a certain number of motors; in steel, so many man-hours to make a ton of steel. This concept of workers' determining their own production rate is now on the order of the day. This slogan will help to raise the class consciousness of the workers. It will open their eyes to the possibilities of economic planning. It will further expose the true class role of the bosses. It will sharpen the struggle between worker and boss. The concept of planning and fighting for the right to determine their own rate of production will bring the workers another step closer to Socialist consciousness...."

"We have to raise the whole concept of national planning that will come with Socialism and end unemployment forever. Meanwhile we should raise now the whole question of nationalization of basic industries. We must raise the concept of limiting profits.... We should develop these more advanced questions into a legislative program as a counter-offensive to the legislative attacks being leveled against the working class.

* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

"The absence of Socialist consciousness and of the concept of Socialism is one of the biggest weaknesses in the labor movement today. More and more we must bring the whole question of Socialism into the trade-union movement. This is going to be our most potent weapon in the coming years...."

Milton Rosen, "The Party and the Labor Movement," Political Affairs, May, 1959, pp. 18, 19, 21-22, 25.

9. House Committee on Un-American Activities an Enemy of Labor

"THE HOUSE Un-American 'hearings' in Chicago had three objective before it. The committee, smarting under the criticism of the Supreme Court and many prominent people as well, was anxious to turn the clock back and create an atmosphere in this country reminiscent of the days of McCarthyism. This committee, which has a long anti-labor record, is also intent on swelling the McClellan Committee anti-labor chorus.

"Dissatisfied with the militant stirrings in many sections of labor, and especially labor's alliance with the Negro people in many instances, the committee sought to attack a union that has played a prominent role in the midwest in his respect.

"The attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the Packing Union and the International Association of Machinists is a flagrant example of Congressional 'interference' into the affairs of labor."

"...The labor movement, which has felt the bitter sting of attack from the McClellan Committee and the employers would do well to fight for the rights of all, including the rights of Communists in the labor movement. This would help achieve a unity that would beat back the anti-labor forces and win some much needed gains.

"The House Un-American committee is as much an enemy of organized labor as of all democratic minded people. This the hearings in Chicago once again underscored."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 24, 1959, p. 12.

10. Jobless Workers on Move against Unemployment

"WORKING PEOPLE all over the country are getting fighting mad about the affects of unemployment and are beginning to do something about it. The four to five million workers already unemployed are not the only one who are fed up with phony promises of jobs to some, while their unemployment compensation runs out. The employed workers, faced with threats of mass layoffs due to mechanization and speedup, are also on the move."

The Worker,
January 25, 1959, p. 3.

"WASHINGTON is beginning to sound too much like when Herbie Hoover was singing his song of 'prosperity just around the corner.' While Eisenhower tells us sweetly that our economy is on the road to recovery, the working people of our country have just gone through the worst January of unemployment since 1941, and it looks even gloomier for the next months.

"Eisenhower's promise of pie in the sky has been a coverup, while the monopolies have been cutting our throats with their labor-saving devices, automation and speedup."

"The truth is, however, that most of the workers now without jobs are never going to get them back, if the bosses have their way."

"But the workers aren't just going to take this situation lying down. They remember too well what happened in the Thirties."

"... Everybody knows that nothing is going to happen to help the unemployed unless we put the heat under President Eisenhower and Congress...."

Editorial, The Worker,
February 22, 1959, p. 2.

"...after all of Eisenhower's honeyed talk about jobs just around the corner, our cocky bosses are telling us loud and bold that not only aren't they going to rehire many of the 5 million workers who haven't got a job now, but they are going to speed up production so much this year that many of us still working will be fired in 1959.

"That's what the Wall Street crowd would like to do in 1959, But we don't think any self-respecting worker is going to let them get away with it. Why should we have to pay in hunger, suffering and insecurity for the bosses' failure to keep the capitalist economic system operating so we can all have jobs at a decent wage level? We don't notice any of our bosses waiting at the unemployment insurance offices, or being interviewed for relief, or standing in line at a surplus food distribution center. They are still grabbing big salaries and fat dividends for which we pay in speedup and layoffs.

"If we are to get any of this burden of unemployment off our backs, we'll have to dump it ourselves. That means we will all have to get busy in our unions, in our communities, at the state and national capitals for such aims as unemployment insurance coverage for all workers as long as they are jobless; to halt all payments on debts and taxes until workers get their jobs back. and adequate relief for those who have exhausted their unemployment benefits."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 8.

"DETROIT. --Over 300,000 are officially unemployed in Michigan, with only 90,000 drawing unemployment compensation, the rest having exhausted their 39 weeks. This is as of April 15.

"Meanwhile reports last week showed auto output slated to start falling with General Motors cutting back for one week recently all lines except Cadillac.

"The usual alibi of 'inventory' is to be used to close the plants down for one week in some plants."

"The pressure for a huge Detroit Cadillac Square rally to intensify the drive for aid to the unemployed is mounting here."

The Worker,
May 17, 1959, p. 13.

11. Labor Influence in Politics

"IT IS A PECULIARITY of the American labor movement that the trade unions have no mass Labor Party, or other mass party. For many years past--for well over half a century, in fact--they have concentrated their political work heavily upon voting for the policies and candidates of the two old bourgeois parties, Democratic and Republican, with the emphasis on the former...."

"In the work of the progressives, functioning in the unions and mass organizations, within the two old parties, consideration should be given to the following:

"The Left forces should propagate their progressive program and line in the old parties, with the stress upon the one which currently contains the mass of the workers, and undertake to mobilize the workers and their allies in these parties for the eventual formation of the Labor Party at an appropriate political time."

"The CP works upon the theory that it is impossible for the workers to win complete control of either the Democratic Party, or the Republican Party, they being too closely controlled by the monopolists, and that eventually the workers and their allies will have to form an independent Labor Party. It is possible for labor, however, to win control of many key sections of the organization, to win some significant political concessions, and to raise important class issues, as was done in the recent election within the Democratic Party on the question of anti-right-to-work laws...."

"It is important for progressives to work definitely at building strong worker organization and program inside the Democratic (and where possible, the Republican) Party. This they should do in such a way as not to play into the hands of the reactionaries, who are quick to use the demagoguery that the workers are out to 'capture' the organization, and to carry through various political 'plots.'

"The workers in these parties should work firmly and persistently, and not rush hastily and without proper consideration, into splitting movements."

William Z. Foster, "Work in
the Two-Party System,"
Political Affairs, January, 1959,
pp. 28, 30-31.

12. Ruling Class versus Working Class

"In order to maintain its rate of maximum profits--absolutely necessary in a developed capitalist system such as in the U. S.--the American ruling class is forced more and more to extract these profits from 'their own' working class. The millions of unemployed, the millions of Negro people living under fearful conditions, the millions on the relief rolls, the millions on the short work-week, the millions of farmers being driven from their land, are the living proof that American capitalism has not solved its contradictions...."

Milton Rosen, "The Party and the
Labor Movement," Political Affairs,
May, 1959, p. 17.

IV: AGRICULTURE

1. The harsh outlook for the farmer can be solved only by the elimination of capitalism.
2. A temporary halt to the downward trend of agricultural conditions has aided some farmers, but small farmers continue to feel the cost-price squeeze.
3. Farmers need assistance in order to survive the farm crisis.
4. Soviet farms have no migratory labor problem such as exists in the United States.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. American Farmers' Outlook

"THE OUTLOOK for the American farmer is grim...."

"Even the expansion of domestic food consumption, to meet the existing diet shortage of the 15 million people (with incomes of less than \$1,000) living in or near poverty in 1955, will not meet the problem...."

"...our technology has now reached such a level, that we can eliminate poverty completely, raise diets for everyone to an adequate level--and still overproduce.

"The plight of the 15 million poverty-stricken persons is not alleviated, one whit, of course, by the fact that our productive facilities are sufficient to wipe out their poverty. That will not be achieved by formulas, but by struggle.

"But it would be wrong to suppose that the elimination of diet deficiency would eliminate the farm problem.

"The core of the problem lies elsewhere--in the basic nature of economy, as a capitalist economy."

"...A basic solution, lies only in the substitution, for capitalism, of a society where technological progress is a goal, not a threat, and where increased production is welcomed, not feared as the plague...."

The Worker,
March 29, 1959, p. 11.

2. Farmers Feel Cost-Price Squeeze

"For several years prior to 1957, the condition of the farmers had been steadily going downhill. But during the past year, in contrast to the downward trend in industry, it has shown some improvement."

"The improvement, however, was due largely to special factors of a temporary nature....

"But now the temporary advantage enjoyed by some sections of the farmers is receding....

"Moreover, small farmers have benefitted relatively little from the improved situation. The cost-price squeeze has continued to force them out. And the drop in industrial employment has had its effects on them, since fully one-third of the income of farm people--and among small farmers a much higher proportion--today comes from non-farm jobs."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Outlook Today," Political Affairs, January, 1959, pp. 18, 19.

3. Assistance for Farmers

"...Protect the family-size farms and farm workers from the insecurity and poverty caused by the farm crisis. Provide increased price supports, and the credit, services, and tax relief needed by small farmers in order to survive."

The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

4. Migratory Agricultural Labor

"The Soviet farm population, still a majority, are coming closer to the level of the country's urban life, with the gap narrowing continually...."

"THE 'RED GARDEN' government farm of 4,500 acres, stretching for almost six miles in length, is shipping all its apples, cherries and plums to canning and conservation plants in Rostov...."

"A FRUIT FARM of this size in California or the southwestern states would be almost entirely dependent on migratory labor--probably on Mexican contract workers who are usually hired for the lowest conceivable wages and are put up in tent colonies. Or they'd depend on Negro and Puerto Rican workers who'd come in with their entire families to work and live under indescribable misery.

"There is no migratory labor problem in the USSR. There are no migratory agricultural laborers...."

The Worker,
May 31, 1959, p. 7.

V. COLONIALISM

1. The "Wall Street-dictated policies" of the Eisenhower Administration keep the economies of the Latin-American countries in a critical state.
2. The reform programs of Fidel Castro's new government are under increasing fire from the big United States corporations with financial interests in Cuba.
3. Colonial liberation movements, competition among imperialist nations, and socialist exports have restricted United States development on a world scale.
4. Exiles from Nicaragua have formed a revolutionary movement to oust Dictator Luis Somoza, "American imperialism's mouthpiece and representative."
5. While proclaiming itself "anti-imperialist," the United States dominates the economic and political life of the Philippines.
6. Iraqi youth has denounced imperialism in the continuing drive to rid the world of colonialism.
7. The United States Government's policy of intimidation of China is similar to the imperialism which until recently was enforced all over Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
8. "Imperialists and reactionary forces" in the United States are interfering with the rights of the Argentine people.
9. American imperialism makes certain that its clique remains in power in Panama.
10. The participants of the recent All-African People's Conference agreed to fight for their freedom if colonial and imperialist powers make it necessary.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. American Imperialism in Latin America

"PART OF THE LEGACY left by John Foster Dulles is the malignant U.S. policy in Latin America. That policy ravages the economies of the Latin American countries, keeps them politically feeble and dependent, and binds their peoples in agonizing poverty.

"Some Latin American governments offer their peoples as relief from this torment remedies more dubious than the cupping and leeching of our great-grand-fathers' day. A favorite of political quacks is anti-Communism. The people demand bread--it's a 'Communist conspiracy'; the people protest the surrender of natural resources to U.S. monopolies--it's the work of 'Soviet agents.'

"The recent action of the Mexican and Argentine governments in expelling several staff members of the Soviet embassies in those countries on the ground that they were stirring up strikes is one of those tissue-paper frauds that cannot cover up the ugly reality: brutal suppression of legitimate workers' struggles and appeasement of, if not abject surrender to the Mr. Charlie in Washington."

"But there is a new tide running below the Rio Grande--the tide that overwhelmed Peron in Argentina, Rojas Pinilla in Colombia, Perez Jimenez in Venezuela, Batista in Cuba, that will sweep away the remaining tinfoil tyrannies of Trujillo, Somoza, Ydigoras and Strooesner. Turncoat liberals like Frondizi and Siles Zuazo can divert that freedom tide only temporarily."

The Worker,
June 14, 1959, pp. 10, 11.

"THE ECONOMIC CRISIS in the United States, which began in 1957, affected other sectors of the capitalist world in varying degrees. Especially pronounced was its impact on the raw materials-producing

countries, and among them the most severely affected of these were the Latin-American nations. Their economies, closely tied to that of the United States and heavily dominated by American imperialism, are today in a critical state."

"Confronted with insistent demands for help from the Latin-American countries, the Eisenhower Administration has followed a policy of taking advantage of their plight to advance the interests of American monopoly capital, at the same time offering a profusion of platitudes and fatherly advice.

"As a condition for loans, it has forced devaluation and convertibility of Latin-American currencies, which facilitates the withdrawal of profits by American firms but increases the drain on the foreign exchange reserves of these countries all the more. It has insisted on the adoption of 'austerity' programs supposedly designed to control inflation by holding down the wages and living standards of the working people. And it has demanded that plans for development of oil and other industries be abandoned and turned over to foreign capital."

"Vital to the success of the Latin-American peoples in their struggles to free themselves from imperialist domination is the support of the working people of this country. It is essential that American labor oppose the present Wall Street-dictated policies of the Eisenhower Administration, and fight for a policy based on genuine economic assistance to the Latin-American countries and non-interference in their internal affairs...."

Hyman Lumer, "The Economic Crisis in Latin America," Political Affairs, April, 1959, pp. 1, 5-6, 10.

"Unity is the biggest issue in Latin America. Unity against Wall Street imperialism! Unity for full independence from the monopolies, which are the common enemy of the people in the U. S. A. as well.

"This struggle for full independence comes at a time of mass suffering. For hunger is spreading over Dulles' 'free world' in the Spanish, Portuguese and French-speaking lands. Hungry people are desperately seizing food by mass action in parts of Brazil, Bolivia and elsewhere. This hunger increases as the trusts buy less and pay less for Latin American raw materials during the present depression."

The Worker,
January 4, 1959, p. 7.

2. Cuba

"Two million Cuban peasants are eagerly awaiting their allotment of free land--67 acres to each family of five--which the Law of Agrarian Reform promises them. That law went into effect last month under the signature of President Manuel Urrutia Lleo.

"This is perhaps the major historic item in Latin America this moment when big things are exploding up and down the hemisphere: uprising and tensions are reported in Dictator Somoza's Nicaragua, in Dictator Stroessner's Paraguay, in Peru, and elsewhere.

"The burning need for land--denied to generations of hungry peasants--is common to all Latin American countries. Hence, they eye developments in Cuba, identifying themselves with all that happens there. Needless to say, others, too, eye Cuba where 6,600,000 acres are to be distributed; the fact is that some 4,432 latifundios (big plantations) are being dissolved; the fact is that United Fruit and Cuban-American Sugar are the chief holders of more than 2,125,000 acres of the richest sugar cane lands in the world.

"And so the land reform stage of the Cuban revolution is under increasing fire, mainly from the big U. S. corporations, and from those forces within Cuba that they can influence."

The Worker,
June 7, 1959, p. 2.

"...Castro, as premier, represents the national unity which overthrew Batista.

"The new Cuban power which brought political liberty to a tortured nation includes every patriotic and nationalistic force that risked life--and torture--to rid the nation of the ferocious dictatorship. These include the Partido Socialista Popular--the Communist party of the land--whose members unstintingly shed their blood in the Sierra Maestras and in the city underground to defeat the tyrant."

"...Cuba's noble people count on the understanding and support of the plain folk of the U.S.A....they distinguish between the people of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, FDR--and the profit-mad corporations."

The Worker,
April 19, 1959, p. 14.

"...the monopolies of Wall Street, in their striving to wring limitless profits from the sweat and blood of the Cuban people, constitute the greatest peril to Cuba's freedom and social progress. These monopolies are the enemies of the people of the United States, as well as of those of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. And their oppressive role, their intrigues and interference in the internal affairs of Cuba and the other Latin American countries has intensified the exploitation and tax burdens of the American people and retarded democratic advance in the United States no less than elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere.

" 'We American Communists pledge our utmost to defend Cuba's right to full and untrammelled sovereignty, its independence, its social and economic welfare. 'Hands off Cuba'...' "

The Worker,
February 8, 1959, p. 14.

3. World Imperialism

"In the past few years we have seen many areas of the world break away from world imperialism, and particularly U. S. imperialism. The colonial liberation movements are continuing at a fever pitch, as are various national liberation movements. To make matters worse for the American imperialists, West Germany, Japan, Great Britain, etc., are competing at an intense pitch with their American 'friends.' These factors, plus the increased Socialist exports to every corner of the world, have restricted U.S. economic development on a world scale."

Milton Rosen, "The Party and the Labor Movement," Political Affairs, May, 1959, p. 17.

4. Nicaragua

"IN A WEEK which saw Latin America politics seethe like lava in a crater, Nicaragua, the homeland of the martyred Sandino, took foremost attention: a revolution against Dictator Somoza was under way."

"Armed groups organized by Nicaraguan political exiles in Costa Rica entered Nicaragua in two groups some 10 days ago.

"The Somoza regime clamped martial law on the land, and the dictator--son of the late previous dictator--(father and son backed by the State Department) began issuing statements saying it was all over for the rebels, there was nothing to it, etc., all reminiscent of Batista's statements last year in Cuba."

"SOMOZA, despite his boastful statements, called 10,000 reserves to add to his National Guard of 4,000.

"Support for the rebels came swiftly from all parts of Latin America. In Venezuela, the Chamber of Deputies approved a resolution expressing 'solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and their struggle for liberty.' Similar expressions came from Honduras and throughout the hemisphere.

"The Somoza government's first action doubtless in collaboration with the State Department, was to call for a meeting of the Organization of American States, creature of Washington's imperialism."

"The political pot bubbled and stewed throughout the hemisphere: The press of U.S. imperialism, the dictatorial and native reactionary forces, screamed 'Communism'; but knowing observers realized that the tide of revolution was rising in Latin America--for national sovereignty, and for social betterment.

"Naturally, in most countries, the Communists--foremost of the national political forces for freedom, political and economic--worked for the harmony, the unity of all who wanted freedom...."

The Worker,
June 14, 1959, pp. 3, 16.

"EXILES from Nicaragua, at a recent meeting in New York, organized themselves into a revolutionary movement to oust Luis Somoza, the Nicaraguan dictator. The organization took the name of Movimiento General Augusto C. Sandino."

"...Luis Somoza, the son of previous dictator Anastasio Somoza rules as American imperialism's mouthpiece and representative, as his father did before him."

"NICARAGUA'S economy today is tied to U. S. imperialist economy, which keeps Nicaragua undeveloped and poor, with thousands of permanently unemployed or seasonal workers.

"A good first step would be to trade with the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries.

"We are sure that a progressive Nicaragua, will wipe out the fat subsidies now given to the cotton and coffee producers to encourage them in exporting to their sole important market, the U. S. These fat subsidies could very well be used for schools, hospitals and other necessary services, of which the people of Nicaragua are so much in need.

"A drastic agrarian program and distribution of land among the peasants-bringing in modern methods of agriculture, is needed.

"OUR GREETINGS to the new organization of the exiles of Nicaragua in the U. S.

"Be on the alert for imperialism's deadly weapon of anti-communism."

The Worker,
March 29, 1959, p. 10.

5. The Philippines

"There exists among large numbers of Americans a carefully nurtured illusion concerning the U. S. government's attitude toward the independence of colonial peoples. The 'care and feeding' of this illusion is an ancient national art fostered by tons of newsprint and all the mass media....

"...Who has not heard of America's 'showcase of democracy' in the Far East--the Philippines!"

"...there is the cumulative and stunning impact of organized, contemporary, factual data which show the new and current forms of United States domination of the economic and political life of the Philippines within the framework of formal independence. Methods change but not the basic policies, sometimes the means vary but never the ends....

"...what remains fundamental and unchanging in U.S. relations with the Philippines...is the exploitation of the Philippines as a source of maximum colonial profits....

"Equally fundamental and unchanging is U.S. obstruction of basic industrialization, reliance on compradore strata in the Philippines with its consequent preservation of the semi-feudal land system intact, and the ruthless repression of genuine national independence forces....

"As for what is changing, new and different in U.S. - Philippine relations... U.S. imperialism must and does proclaim itself 'anti-imperialist.' It operates in more subtle and concealed forms to preserve its privileges, protect its comprador allies and divide the nationalist movement. It is forced into minor concessions which in no way change the nature of its basic intervention in the Philippine economic structure and political life."

Susan Warren, "Imperialism's Showcase,"
Political Affairs, June, 1959, pp. 62, 63.

6. Iraq

"CURRENT ACTIVITIES in which have thrown much fear and trembling into Western and colonial powers are evidenced by the resounding proposals of the second Congress of Iraqi Students..."

"The Congress denounced the Baghdad pact in no uncertain terms, saying that the pact was 'an imperialist, military bloc threatening peace and plotting to undermine the Republic....' It urged that the Iraqi government withdraw from the pact, and withdraw as well from bilateral agreements with Britain.

"What has probably unnerved colonial powers the most, aside from the Iraqi revolution's threat to oil interests, is the continuing drive and support by Iraqi youth to rid the world of colonialism...."

"It would be well to keep these points of view in mind as American press and mass media grow frantic about the direction in which Iraqi, and its young people, are going."

The Worker,
May 24, 1959, p. 6.

7. China

"...the outrageous policy of intimidation, employed by the great monopolies which control the imperialistic government of the United States, (is)* to try to strangle the Chinese Revolution, and to prevent the Chinese people from carrying forward their heroic achievements in the building of Socialism and Communism. In the domineering relationship that the United States is trying to force upon China in the Taiwan Straits, and in its general support of the Chiang Kai-shek bandits, is to be found a true reflection of a brutal imperialism which until recently was enforced all over Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but which is now rapidly being ended by the rise of the Chinese, Indian, African and Latin-American peoples of those areas."

William Z. Foster, "A Letter to Mao Tse-tung," Political Affairs, March, 1959, p. 23.

8. Argentina

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY here sent a wire to President Arturo Frondizi, at Buenos Aires, charging that his government's actions serve 'the dictates of Yankee imperialists and reactionary forces' in the U.S.

* Inserted for clarity.

"Eugene Dennis, national secretary, and Robert Thompson, executive secretary, said they were also protesting to the White House, 'its interference against the rights of the Argentine people.' "

The Worker,
May 3, 1959, p. 3.

9. Panama

"THE MOST SHAMELESS racial, economic and national discrimination against the citizens of Panama is the rule within the Canal Zone.

"Every four years the bourgeois 'democratic' process sees to it that a set of the same class representing the same imperialist interests reelects itself to office.

"But the real power in Panama is in the hands of American imperialism. It rules through the National Guard, a militarized police force of some 2,000 men, trained and indoctrinated by U. S. military experts.

"The National Patriotic Coalition, (Coalicion Patriotica Nacional), is the political party front of the National Guard. This set-up does away with the 'inconvenience' of having to declare an open dictatorship under the indirect guidance of American imperialism.

"The people hate the National Guard and its political counterpart, the National Patriotic Coalition. They have seen that these organs only serve as instruments of U. S. imperialism and the most reactionary native elements."

The Worker,
June 7, 1959, p. 10.

"PANAMA has been in the headlines lately. A group of 87 persons, mostly Cuban -- many with adventurist tendencies -- among whom were also four Panama citizens, including one woman, and four Puerto Ricans, invaded Panama during the last days of April."

"The United States military, aerial and naval power were in Panama's water carefully watching and checking on developments.

"It is clear that American imperialism does not want any more revolutions, especially in the Caribbean area, that might dethrone their faithful servants and representatives, dictator Somoza in Nicaragua, ~~Dubalier~~ in Haiti, and the 'Honorable,' 'Doctor,' 'generalissimo,' etc., etc., Rafael Leonidas Trujillo y Molina, in the Dominican Republic.

"ALL these late happening did not deliver this central American republic from the hunger and exploitation suffered by its people and imposed on them by American imperialism and the Panama clique in control."

The Worker,
May 31, 1959, p. 10.

10. Africa

"THE ALL-AFRICAN People's Conference, which convened in Accra, capital of Ghana, December 5-13, with over 300 delegates from all parts of Africa, closed on a note of grim, but united determination:

"Despite different languages, different cultural backgrounds, different colonial systems which have separated and oppressed us, the Conference speaks with the united voice of over two hundred million Africans. We have here decided to be free today, not tomorrow!"

"The All-African People's Conference was called by a Preparatory Committee from the eight independent African states: the United Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia with Guinea added later. These independent states accepted the responsibility and assumed the important function of performing at the international level the stabilization of African and Afro-Asian solidarity. They announced that in their foreign dealings they would follow policies which would expedite the emergence of the independence of all presently-dependent and colonial African territories. It was this group which invited all Africa to send delegates to an All-African Conference with Ghana playing host.

"Twenty-eight countries participated in the Conference..."

"Africa will fight for its freedom if colonial and imperialist powers make that necessary. But the countries of Africa want peace. These two facts were repeated over and over again. Africa has suffered not only from her own wars, but Africans have died in all world wars. They want no more of war."

"Some Liberian delegates joined with other conservatives in trying to get through a Resolution setting forth the policy of the Convention as being strictly non-violent, no matter what provocations Africans might have for retaliating against violence. They also tried to get through an anti-Communist Resolution. In both efforts they failed overwhelmingly."

Shirley Graham, "Africa Lifts Its Voice,"
Political Affairs, February, 1959,
pp. 1, 2-3, 5, 7-8.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. "Reactionary Republicans" and "white-supremacist Dixiecrats" have united to impose a new era of McCarthyism on the American people.
2. Amnesty for Communist Party leaders must be a key objective of the whole Party.
3. Federal legislation and support are necessary to halt the growing violence against Negroes in the South and to achieve full integration.
4. The Smith Act indictment against William Z. Foster is brutal political persecution.
5. Proposed legislative bills challenging the civil liberty and desegregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court must be defeated.
6. Protests and action by unions and all working people must expose and defeat the "anti-labor" Kennedy-Ervin bill.
7. Vigorous, militant struggle is needed to crystallize a new political majority capable of carrying out the Communist Party's legislative aims.
8. Freeing Morton Sobell would help to vindicate the political martyrs and heroes of the past.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. New Era of McCarthyism

"THE U.S. SUPREME COURT 5 to 4 decisions against the teacher, Prof Lloyd Barenblatt, and the peace advocate, Rev. Willard Uphaus, are dangerous blows against the liberties of all Americans...."

"The High Court took the occasion to give a blank check to the Un-American Activities Committee and state witchhunters to pillory, to expose for exposure's sake, to instigate state sedition trials, and to jail advocates of peace and democratic liberty.

"The court majority 'joined the pack' of those very forces who have been doing the smear job against the recent Supreme Court civil liberty decisions. It was a happy days for Eastland, Goldwater, Walter and Howard Smith."

"THESE DECISIONS defy the popular mandate of the last November elections. The American Bar Association and the Un-American Activities Committee with a false patriotism and anti-Communist slanders made their way into the majority decision.

"The decision proves the point---an attack against the right of Communists, and the spreading of lies and slanders against Communists is destructive of the rights of all."

"EVERY ADVOCATE of democratic liberties and peace has a responsibility to stimulate and organize united mass action--of labor, the Negro people, all who work to ban atomic tests and outlaw nuclear war and those who cherish democracy--to voice their protest against the court decisions, to act now to defeat the McCarthyite legislation now pending in Congress--and for a halt to any revival of McCarthyism through Congressional and state investigations in America. Conferences, meetings of unions, churches and mass organizations can help change the scene. Delegations to Congress and elected officials are urgent. The press, radio and TV must voice the will of the people for the Bill of Rights.

"We Communists reject and repudiate the effort of the majority decision to pin a series of false labels upon us, to cloak the canards of the Eastlands and the Walters with judicial opinion...."

The Worker,
June 14, 1959, p. 16.

"The hard-core reactionary mouthpieces for Big Business who run the American Bar Association and the Congressional jackals who do Wall Street's bidding are on the prowl again against the Bill of Rights they have sworn to uphold as a part of the Constitution. Already the House, following the call of the lawyers' dictators, has passed an amendment to the Smith Act to nullify the Supreme Court's decisions and catch practically anybody who belongs to a party the bosses don't like.

"In the works in Congress are other proposals by the tiny group who control the attorneys' organization to trample on the people's liberties. Among these is one to legalize the various state laws the Supreme Court declared no longer operative because the Federal Smith Act took precedence."

"These are the first new steps in a so-called anti-Communist drive that will provide the weapons for a get-tough campaign against labor in these critical times. The Eisenhower administration, through its Justice Department, is doing its share by retrying the Denver Seven, whose case had already once been thrown out, and by keeping in jail two great-hearted workingclass leaders, Henry Winston and Gil Green.

"The reactionary Republicans and the white-supremacist Dixiecrats have forged a new united front to impose a new era of McCarthyism on the American people. And they stand a chance of succeeding because the 'liberal' Democrats elected in November are weaseling on their election promises."

"The labor movement, by taking the initiative as it did in November and uniting with the other people's organizations, can put some gumption in the backsliding Congressmen whom they elected and put the fear of God in the shilly-shallying legislators who are now on the side of reaction because it looks like a winner."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 2.

2. Amnesty Campaign

"THERE ARE three Smith Act prisoners in U.S. Federal prisons today--Gil Green, who has two and a half years to serve; Henry Winston, who has nearly three years, and Robert Thompson, who has eighteen months more.

"The campaign for their release now hinges around two actions on their part, (1) Continuing application for parole; (2) their applications to President Eisenhower for commutation of sentence to time already served, which is formally called 'Executive Clemency.'

"They are not contradictory; one supplements the other. An application for Presidential action cannot be made unless an application for parole has been denied. This has already happened with Green and Winston. Their next parole request comes up in October. Thompson will make his application for parole as soon as his quarantine period is over. In his case, due to his precarious health condition, the greatest possible effort should be made to support it, by letters to the Parole Board urging his immediate release on parole.

"THESE TWO applications--for parole and Executive Clemency--are the only legal channels still open to them, since the Supreme Court upheld their second sentences, closing the door on future court actions, and sending Thompson back to Atlanta prison. So far parole has been denied to all Smith Act prisoners who applied for it. These are the first such appeals for Executive Clemency...."

"Join with others in urging (1) the Parole Board to release Robert Thompson immediately. (2) the president to commute the sentences of all three remaining Smith Act prisoners."

The Worker,
June 14, 1959, p. 9.

"...Robert Thompson, surrendered to serve the balance of his sentence, which will be 18 more months behind the grim walls of a Federal Penitentiary, at Atlanta, where he will join another political prisoner, --Morton Sobell. Three of the original group are still in general prisons--Gil Green at Leavenworth, Kansas, for two and a half years more, Henry Winston at Terre Haute, Ind., for nearly three years more, and now Thompson."

"LEGAL PROCEEDINGS are finished in these cases. Further court action is out. Only around parole and Executive Clemency can a campaign for the release now be pivoted. Such a campaign will keep their fate before the public. We can do no less. Their sentences are unjust. Their punishment cruel and unusual... Let us build for Amnesty this year."

The Worker,
June 7, 1959, p. 9.

"THE ANNOUNCEMENT last week that the U.S. Supreme Court would not review the case of Robert Thompson, executive secretary of the Communist Party, was a blow against the working class, elementary justice, and human decency... During the past few years, the Supreme Court has issued a number of progressive decisions, but this one was more fitting to the worst period of McCarthyism."

"...The day is past when worker militants may be freely railroaded to jail and abused in prison by reactionary governments. Strong pressure can prevent the re-imprisonment of Comrade Thompson, and can free Winston and Green from their equally unjust sentences."

The Worker,
May 3, 1959, p. 4.

"Winston and Gilbert Green, fellow-Communist serving the same sentence in Leavenworth penitentiary, have been denied parole, though entitled to it.

"Their continued imprisonment continues to weaken the struggle of the whole American people.

"President Eisenhower can amnesty them. He should amnesty them. He will amnesty them if enough Americans make it plain they want it."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 29, 1959, p. 2.

3. Violence in the South

"Attorney General William Rogers' statement--for the Eisenhower administration--that no Federal laws were violated in the murder of the 23-year old Negro lumber worker is a shameless deceit.

"Rogers ruling that the jurisdiction in the Parker case lies in the State of Mississippi and not in the federal government is a swindle designed to justify the failure of the Federal government to prosecute in this case, as in every other lynching of modern times."

"If Rogers' decision is permitted to stand it is an open invitation to the next lynching; just as the refusal of the Eisenhower administration to act in the Emmet Till murder, encouraged the lynchers of Parker.

"The horror of the Poplarville murder, and the do-nothing policy of the Administration have found a bitter response from the ranks of the people....

"But, it must be said frankly, the organized action of the people is inadequate. The storm that must surge around the ears of congressmen and Senators, the fury that will make the White House reverse its steps have not yet been aroused.

"Far more is at stake than even forestalling the next lynching to which Rogers' action has given encouragement. At stake is the job of wiping the South clean of the racist oppression that denies democracy to the Negroes and whites, and poisons the political atmosphere of the entire nation."

Editorial, The Worker,
June 7, 1959, p. 2.

"VIOLENCE grows in the South -- against the Negro people. The 5 year old Supreme Court decisions for desegregation are flouted by Governors and school boards and by-passed by Federal judges. 26,000 young people demonstrated in our national Capitol to demand school desegregations. They were given the run-around at the White House, as usual.

"In the South the answer of the hate-crazed Dixiecrats and KKK barbarians, is two lynchings in Mississippi, the horrible rape of a Negro woman student in Florida, beatings and kidnappings in Alabama, shootings of Negroes from passing cars in Richmond, Va., which sent six youths to the hospital. These are but a few of hundreds of unreported violent action throughout the South against Negroes -- workers, farmers, ministers, women."

"BLOODSHED, kidnappings, beatings, lynchings, rape of Negro people -- challenge the Federal Government to act. Flouting of laws, defying of court decisions, denial of suffrage to millions -- challenge the Federal Government to act. It will be a day of grave crisis when the Negro people lose all faith in the courage and sincerity of their government to defend their lives and their rights. It is not far off...."

"...It would be well for Washington to heed their voices, for the peace and honor of our country."

The Worker,
May 31, 1959, p. 9.

"...Outlaw all jimcrow practices and policies. Make enforcement of civil rights a Federal responsibility and all violations subject to Federal criminal penalties. Work for all other legislation necessary to achieve full integration of the Negro people on a free and equal basis into all phases of society." "

The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

"STRUGGLES SUCH as the Pilgrimage, the Youth March and the March-on-Richmond must be organized on an ever larger scale if victory in the fight for school integration is to be achieved. It requires a manysided struggle, on a state and national level, pressure on the President and the Department of Justice, Congressional action for a broad civil rights bill with teeth in it, and further action by the Supreme Court erasing such concessions to the segregationist as the failure to declare the Alabama placement law unconstitutional."

The Worker,
February 8, 1959, p. 11.

4. Persecution of William Z. Foster

"The Department of Justice has denied the request of Mrs. Mary Kaufman, attorney for William Z. Foster, Communist Party leader, to dismiss the Smith Act indictments which have been held over him for more than ten years, and has threatened to renew the prosecution whenever it can."

"...Foster is convinced that medical care in a sanitarium in the Soviet Union would aid restoration of the use of his hand and leg and add years to his life. One of the reasons for asking dismissal is so that Foster could obtain a passport."

" 'The use of the Smith Act indictments to cut the life of a Communist leader becomes a brutal act of political persecution,' declared Robert Thompson, executive secretary of the Communist Party, in condemning the D. of J.'s action. Thompson urged that letters be sent to President Eisenhower and to Attorney General William Rogers urging dismissal of the July 1948 indictments against Foster. "

The Worker,
March 29, 1959, p. 3.

5. Proposed Legislation Challenging Supreme Court

"SENATOR JAMES EASTLAND, the Dixiecrats, the bitter-end followers of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the most brazen anti-labor Senators are now pushing the Eastland bills and similar bills aimed at the civil liberty and desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court. "

"Most threatening are those bills (HR 3, S 3, S 294, S 1299 and HR 492) which are aimed to restore state sedition laws. These are aimed against the Supreme Court decision in the Nelson case.

"HR 3 and S 3 would also be used to challenge all desegregation decisions as well as decisions and laws affecting the trade unions and conditions of labor....

"The fate of those bills rests with the actions of local unions, of neighborhood and community organizations, of the rank and file at the crossroads of American life. Now is the time to let Congressmen and Senators know that these bills and the whole Eastland witch-hunt program must be defeated. "

Editorial, The Worker,
May 31, 1959, p. 2.

6. "Anti-Labor" Legislation

"ON APRIL 25, the U. S. Senate by a vote of 90 to one passed the Kennedy-Evrin labor regulation bill which includes McClellan's so-called 'Labor's Bill of Rights' amendments...."

"IN THE GUISE of safeguarding the rights of labor and in the spirit of the 'right-to-work' laws this bill...weaves a web to ensnare and strangle the unions."

"Under this bill any anti-union Secretary of Labor or judge can tie any union into knots no matter how democratic such a union may be. Unions may be harassed before or during a strike, dragged into courts on any pretext, forced to spend their funds on lawyers and court fines, have their conventions and elections invalidated and the union disrupted to a point where it could no longer serve the interests of its members."

"It is not too late to expose and defeat this evil bill. It is not too late to arouse the working people and all democratic people to bring their powerful influence to bear upon the majority of Congress elected with the decisive help of labor and progressive people. It is not too late to save American unions from crippling governmental control."

"The protests and actions of such unions as the printers, teamsters, textile, and the progressive independent unions, if duplicated by many other unions can stop the anti-labor legislation now before congress."

The Worker,
May 10, 1959, p. 14.

7. A New Political Majority

"The main strategic and tactical line we Communists should pursue..."

"To crystallize a new political majority capable of effecting these objectives in 1960 necessitates a further unfoldment of broad popular movements and coalitions on the most vital issues of economic and union security, civil rights and liberties, and peace. It requires a vigorous, united front defense of the unions and all working class and people's organizations, and a broad and militant struggle for their shop and union demands on wages, speedup, FEP and the shorter work week, as well as a successful coordination of economic, legislative and other political struggles, such as around the burning issue of the 30-hour week without wage reductions which now looms as a major issue in the trade-union movement."

Eugene Dennis, "Post-Election Perspectives,"
Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 11.

8. Free Morton Sobell

"MORTON SOBELL, though he has suffered nine years of hell, is fortunately still alive. All that Sacco and Vanzetti asked was a new trial. What Sobell is asking today is a new trial, in a less hysterical and more favorable atmosphere. As in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, all evidence points to a frame-up and the innocence of Morton Sobell.... 'A final push may re-open the case of Morton Sobell.'"

"We cannot save Sacco and Vanzetti from their deaths. Nor can we save the Rosenbergs from their deaths. But we can save Morton Sobell from a living death in Atlanta Penitentiary, to restore him to his loved ones. Reliving the struggles of the past is useful only if it strengthens our determination that such tragedies must never happen again, and in fighting to free the political prisoners of today.

"In freeing Morton Sobell we are helping to vindicate the names of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, and all who are martyrs and heroes of the past."

The Worker,
May 17, 1959, p. 11.

VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The Party must expose and denounce the false concept that armament production is the cure for unemployment.
2. The gravest consequences could result from the United States arms policy concerning "preventive" war and the use of nuclear weapons.
3. Reduction of the military budget might be achieved through a mass agitational campaign for "taking the profits out of war."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Armament Production

"...how can one argue that we must work to arm ourselves for the Cold War and at the same time fight militantly for a short work week?..."

"As long as the trade-union leadership views military spending as the main cure for unemployment, the struggle for the shorter work-week and the fight for peace will be seriously limited."

"...We must advance the slogan: 'Take the profits out of armaments.'"* This may be a negative slogan, but it is one which can be used to expose the bosses. People will respond to the concept that if big business is so patriotic, why must it make huge profits on armaments? We must continually expose and denounce the false concept that armaments make jobs. The fact is that civilian production creates many more secondary jobs than do armaments...."

Milton Rosen, "The Party and the Labor Movement," Political Affairs, May, 1959, pp. 19, 20, 25.

* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

2. "Preventive" War and the Use of Nuclear Weapons

"Two notes have crept into the reports from Washington concerning arms policy that are of the gravest consequence. One indicates that serious thought again is being given at the highest level to 'preventive' war; the other is the calm assumption that atomic and nuclear weapons now constitute conventional weapons so far as the U. S. government is concerned...."

"...the renewed 'preventive' war talk; the press conference of the President where support was offered to such talk; and the remark by the President at that same press conference that he did not 'think' the use of atomic weapons had to wait on the personal authorization of the President but that theatre commanders were now empowered to use such weapons if they felt their command was in danger--if all this is added together, one has a development in State Department and Defense Department policy of the most dire portent for humanity."

"The power of the advocates of such a fate for mankind happily is far from unlimited; which is why such a fate has not yet befallen mankind, and may be averted altogether. Yet their power continues immense and their tempting of the fates goes on. Enough of this is made public--tardily, of course--to prove the critical need for the sharpest reversal of U. S. foreign policy."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, March, 1959, pp. 34, 35, 36.

3. Military Budget

"...The question of reducing the military budget...In this connection, the old popular slogan for 'taking the profits out of war' might strike a

popular response, especially if it were coupled with concrete proposals for enacting the steepest and most stringent income, capital gains and excess profits tax on all armament profits and industries, and with a mass agitational campaign to take General Motors out of the Defense Department and Standard Oil out of the State Department."

Eugene Dennis, "Post-Election Perspectives," Political Affairs, January, 1959, p. 9.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. It is the duty and responsibility of the President and the Federal Government to end violence against the Negro people in the South.
2. Puerto Ricans are the latest of many immigrants who have been exploited and persecuted in America.
3. Although Negroes make up a large part of the jobless, no Negro labor leader was allowed to speak on the platform at the recent AFL-CIO*unemployment conference at Washington.
4. Administration and legislative leaders are continuing their attempts to "scuttle" civil rights legislation in Congress.
5. The continuation of the fear and repression which are responsible for the Jim Crow system demands that society do something about it.
6. Communist Party participation in state and municipal elections is necessary to aid the Negro cause.
7. The Communist Party must be the champion of the demands of the Negro people.
8. The communist press can help to smash the power of those who use terror and deception to destroy Negro-white unity.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Federal Government's Duty To End Racial Violence

"The FBI has been withdrawn from investigation of the murder of Mack Charles Parker, Negro victim of the April 25 Poplarville lynching.

*American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

"By this amazing step, the executive branch of the federal government became an accessory to the murder after the fact.

"Regardless of the virtuous statement of William Rogers, attorney general, that no law exists authorizing the Federal government to act in this and similar cases, the government cannot so lightly waive its responsibility to protect the lives and property of American citizens, particularly Negroes, under the 14th Amendment."

"The desertion of the Parker case is singularly significant. It literally represents the conscious, cynical and cruel repudiation of the constitutional and human rights of Negroes...."

"THE GOVERNMENT is in this position because it is a government by those who fear to fight racism for those who profit by it."

The Worker,
June 7, 1959, p. 15.

"Other oppressed peoples are getting their freedom NOW but the Negro people see no end to centuries of abuse through Eisenhower-Johnson-Rayburn inch-by-inchism.

"Free elections are denied them in the South. They can't use the ballot to defend their rights. There is no use for them to go to the state government for relief. The state governments and their defacto conspirators are the offenders."

"Only bold, deliberate intervention by the Federal Government in the South can put an end to this dangerous political situation."

The Worker,
May 31, 1959, p. 4.

"THE EISENHOWER GOVERNMENT protected Southern lynchers again last week when it dropped its probe of kidnaping and lynching of Mack C. Parker in Poplarville, Miss. The FBI grand stand play has ended. All J. Edgar Hoover's agents have been pulled out. And the hooded cowards, who dragged the young lumber worker from his cell and dumped his mangled body in Pearl River, will face no Federal prosecution.

"Ike's surrender follows an 82-year pattern. No Southern lynchers have been punished by the Federal Government since President Hayes removed his troops from Dixie in 1877.

"IKE'S ATTORNEY GENERAL, William P. Rogers, has a worn out alibi. Prosecution is up to the Mississippi authorities, he says. And the FBI is turning a 'summary' of its 'evidence' and 'information' over to Mississippi officials. Rogers knows, of course that the Pearl River County all-white grand jury is not sitting in Poplarville until next November. This means that Mississippi's 578th recorded lynching will go unpunished, like the 577 before."

"ACT NOW!

"Demand federal prosecution of those who lynched Mack Charles Parker.

"Wire or write President Eisenhower demanding that the federal government act, and that he go to Mississippi to take personal command.

"Demand that your governor, your mayor, your city council: urge the President to act, and memorialize Congress to pass the Hart anti-lynching bill.

"Wire or write your Senators and Representative to pass the anti-lynching bill."

The Worker,
May 31, 1959, p. 1.

"THE KIDNAP-LYNCHING of Mr. Mack C. Parker, 23-year-old lumber worker, in Poplarville, Miss., and the near lynchings in Quitman, Ga., and Alexandria, La., are a warning to all Americans of the beginnings of a general revival of lynch-mob terror in the South."

"It is the duty and responsibility of Congress and of the Eisenhower administration to bring the full power of the Federal government to put an end to the terror against the Negro people in the South, to protect the lives and property of Negro citizens, and to uphold their constitutionally guaranteed citizenship rights. Without all three branches of the Federal Government acting as one in this situation, no progress is possible.

"Only an aroused public opinion demanding such action will move these branches of the Federal government to fulfill their oath of office. The deep indignation of the American people against this crime of lynching must find expression from every corner of our country."

The Worker,
May 17, 1959, p. 3.

"The spectacle of Asbury Howard, heroic and outstanding Negro trade union leader, being framed, brutally beaten and rushed to the Alabama chain gang simply because he fights for the right of the Negro people to vote is a disgrace to America."

"Full responsibility must be placed upon the President and the entire federal government for protecting the right of the Negro people to vote in Bessemer, Alabama, and elsewhere in the South."

The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

2. Puerto Rican Immigrants

"NOTHING has been so dramatic as the tremendous influx of Puerto Ricans into New York City since the war. Inevitably, as with the Negroes before them, their appearance in such large numbers, with their accompanying demand for housing, jobs, and all the other necessities of living, has set all kinds of alarms and even panic going among certain sections of the press and population. And though they came to escape island poverty imposed on them by American economic interests, and though they are considered not colonials but fellow Americans, still, in both the serious and gutter press, they constitute a Problem. In fact, they are considered the most acute 'problem' New York City faces today..."

"...If ever a people had the right to complain to the world about a long train of abuses visited upon them by an unfeeling exploiting class, it is the Puerto Ricans...."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,
June, 1959, p. 56.

"...the immigrants of the past 100 years have been exploited and persecuted in America. The shame of it is well illustrated by the treatment now given to that latest immigrant--the Puerto Rican. Against him are arrayed the same cruel slanders and robberies that befell the Irish, the Italians, the Slavs, Jews and other immigrants of the past.

"And that 'native son,' the Negro, has been even more cruelly treated than the immigrant by white, know-nothing 'native sons.' It is one of the miracles of history how despite everything, both Negro and immigrant have persisted in their faith that they, too, were Americans. They have not allowed the barbarians bred by capitalism to hide from them the true, secret heart of American democracy. The fight for integration is a fight for us all."

The Worker,
May 24, 1959, p. 8.

"THE STRIKE of the hospital workers, under the leadership of Local 1199, is the cause of all humane and fair-minded people, irrespective of race, creed, color or station in life.

"The sweatshop pittance imposed upon these workers -- 80 to 90 percent of whom are Negro and Puerto Rican -- is a disgrace to New York City and a national shame upon civilized America, the richest country in the world...."

"Not only is this a struggle for union recognition and decent wages. It is a struggle for the liberation of the Puerto Rican and Negro workers--a large percentage of whom are women -- from the economic caste of slave wages, which is at the heart of the jimcrow, segregation and discrimination imposed upon them in the life of the city.

"Once more the so-called democracy and dignity of the individual, of which the State Department prates so loudly, is put to the test before the colored and colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America--and found wanting."

The Worker,
May 31, 1959, p. 3.

3. Prejudice against Negroes in Unions

"WASHINGTON -- American labor and the nation's unemployed closed ranks at the historic AFL-CIO sponsored conference on unemployment. With one voice they called for aid to the unemployed and for support to struggles in the union shops, mills, mines."

"DESPITE THE LONG list of speakers, not one Negro labor leader was called to speak from the podium.... 'it's the same old business, for whites only when it comes to the platform.'"

"The Negro jobless have been unemployed the longest; relatively more Negroes have exhausted their unemployment compensation; and are being evicted or foreclosed on to a much greater degree than white workers.

"The only Negro on the platform was A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. But he was not invited to speak."

The Worker,
April 19, 1959, pp. 1, 3.

4. Civil Rights Are Being Restricted

"...Arnold Johnson, the legislative director of the Communist Party...in opposition to a series of McCarthyite American Bar Association bills introduced by Eastland, S. 1299-1305, and similar bills.

"Johnson declared that the Eastland bills are aimed 'to curb, restrict, and destroy basic Constitutional rights included in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution itself, in utter disregard of the liberties of the American people.'

"'Sen. Eastland and the Dixiecrats call for legislation against Communists as a springboard to reverse the Supreme Court decision against segregation,' he said.

"... 'Under this set of bills, the Dixiecrats hope to keep Negroes in the bondage of second-class citizens, without any rights that an Eastland must respect,' he said. 'What they seek through this legislation is a device to impose the Dixiecrat jimcrow policies of Mississippi with its brutal lynching of Mack Parker as a policy upon the whole country. Under cover of making an attack upon the Communists through their bills, the whole fabric of American democracy is being shattered.' "

The Worker,
May 24, 1959, p. 16.

"A FIRST BLOW against the First Amendment and the right of assembly and association, as a result of the recent meeting of the American Bar Association, came last week when Rep. Francis Walter's bill to strengthen the 'organizing' section of the Smith Act, was passed by the House without debate."

"The bill was rushed through in the same way as the original Smith Act was put through in 1940. With the support of the Department of Justice, it became apparent that the Administration had worked behind the scenes in Chicago to foster the Bar Association attack on the High Court...."

"...the Bar Association report is calculated to undercut the Supreme Court and pave the way to nullify the school integration decision of 1954 and all subsequent civil rights decisions. That is the major goal of the Dixiecrats and Congressmen in the service of northern industrialists who seek a cheap labor market by their jimcrow system.

"That big industrialists should use the Bar Association as a legislative agency against civil liberty and civil rights is also fair warning that the other prize which they seek is further restriction against the rights of labor."

The Worker,
March 8, 1959, p. 2.

"SEN. LYNDON JOHNSON'S self-styled 'Civil Rights Act of 1959' threatens to scuttle all civil rights legislation this session by trickery. It encourages Dixiecrat defiance of the Supreme Court.

"The Texas Senator has promised that his bill could go through the Senate without a filibuster. He has mobilized support from some Northern Democrats, including Sen. Mike Mansfield, Montana, and is obviously courting the support of the Republicans."

"Johnson is seeking the same line-up for his bill as in the fight on Rule 22. However, the wording of the bill is such that it can be defeated and thus clear the way for serious legislation. But this calls for a campaign by the mass organizations of the Negro people, by all liberal forces, and especially by the labor movement."

The Worker,
February 1, 1959, p. 16.

"ASBURY HOWARD, international vice-president of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and president of the Bessemer Voters' League, was arrested without a warrant, convicted in a kangaroo court, beaten by 40 white hoodlums in the courthouse while 15 white policemen looked on, and then thrown onto the chain-gang."

"What was his real 'crime'?"

"It was that he had succeeded in raising the voting registration of Bessemer's Negroes from 75 to 2000."

"The violence against Asbury Howard and the chain-gang sentence were encouraged by the activities of Gov. John Patterson. It was Patterson who instructed Alabama officials to defy the recent Federal Civil Rights Commission investigations into the denial of voting rights to Negroes...."

"Support the fight for civil rights...."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 8, 1959, p. 2.

5. Jim Crow System Continues

"A 19-year old Negro American citizen, Asbury Howard Jr., is now serving one year on an Alabama chaing gang. The youth was arrested while defending his father from a white mob which attacked him as he descended the steps of Bessemers City Hall...."

"...An act of bravery in defense of human life is punished as criminal, while those who threaten life in defiance of the law are protected by it. This is neither rational nor just.

"The Asbury Howards are examples of the bravery of southern Negroes in defending America's principles. Their persecution demonstrates the jeopardy in which the lives and freedom of white and Negro are placed if they attempt to struggle for their needs, and thus the fear in which they must live. For they know that if they speak out, the law will censor them and protect the mob which threatens their lives.

"This fear and repression is part of what enables jimcrow to remain in power--and send its representatives to Congress to enact laws for the nation, and keep schools segregated, and enact right-to-work laws and keep southern workers unorganized.

"As participants in our society, we are all responsible for this jimcrow system which permits such injustice. We each share this shame of our nation and can all do something about it....

"Let us live up to the high standards set for us by the Howards, demanded by necessity and our nation's principles. Let's VOTE FOR A BETTER TOMORROW."

The Worker,
May 10, 1959, p. 6.

"MACK CHARLES PARKER was lynched because the perpetrators of the dastardly deed felt they could get away with it.

"And why shouldn't they?

"Neither President Eisenhower nor the Congress has acted to protect the citizenship rights of the Negro people."

"This is why the fight for strong civil rights legislation and for enforcement of full citizenship rights of the Negro people must be seen as a fight against entrenched monopoly and its Dixiecrat allies. It is a fight to put into Congress and into the Government direct representatives of labor, the Negro people, the farmers and other non-monopoly sectors of the people.

"The decisive thing here is the immense power of the people. This power can compel the Executive and the Congress to act now.

"Punish the murderers of Mack Charles Parker and their fellow conspirators.

"Disband and prosecute the White Citizen's Councils, the KKK, and other terrorist gangs.

"Pass the Javits-Celler Civil rights bill and the Hart anti-lynch bill.

"Empower the Federal government to protect the lives and rights of the Negro people."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 10, 1959, p. 2.

6. Participation in Elections

"The center of labor's political activities today should be around key issues, especially on the necessity of ousting the Dixiecrats from the Democratic Party, and of taking up the struggle for a real Civil Rights program for full and immediate integration of the Negro people into every phase of American life; for a mass campaign to register 5 million Negro voters before 1960 in the South, for their right to vote, to hold office and participate fully in the 1960 campaign....Attention to political programs in the old parties, to platform and to candidates, is fundamental."

William Z. Foster, "The Struggle for a Mass Labor Party in the U.S.," Political Affairs, May, 1959, p. 14.

"...The municipal and state elections of 1959 will offer opportunity for the Negro people to advance the fight for Negro representation as well as to further the local and state legislative measures necessary to secure freedom and equal rights. Our Party plans to participate in one or more Southern cities in the 1959 municipal and state elections. Certainly, elsewhere in the country, our comrades will not be amiss in doing all they can to aid the cause of Negro representation both in a supporting role and, like Ben Davis in Harlem, in putting forward where possible and proper our own candidates for public office."

James E. Jackson, "The Negro Freedom Fight: Current Developments," Political Affairs, January, 1959, pp. 37-38.

7. Communist Party and the Negroes

"The Communist Party, which is the vanguard of the labor movement, as its central task seeks to cultivate the militant leadership of the proletariat (contrary to the reformists) in all mass struggles against big capital. In this respect the Negro masses are a great force. The Negro people are at once

the most working-class, impoverished, and militant element in the ranks of the opponents of big capital. The broad proletariat, as the basic leader of the general struggle against capitalist oppression, should and must make itself the champion of all the demands, both class and national, of the Negro people...."

William Z. Foster and Benjamin J. Davis, "Notes On The Negro Question," Political Affairs, April 1959, p. 37.

"...Establish Federal programs and appropriate the necessary funds to meet all educational, social, political, and economic needs of the South, and to overcome the results of more than three hundred years of oppression of Negro people."

The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

8. Influence of Communist Press

"...The Worker is a powerful democratic weapon for peace, relief for the abandoned unemployed, in the fight to smash the political power of racists. Racism is destroying national morality. It is obscuring the basis for Negro-white unity in struggle without which constitutional government cannot be saved."

"THOSE WHO cannot find an answer to unemployment, against racist terror, to the question of peace are bold in the practices of deception and terror. These are their only weapons.

"Is it not obvious why racists make the Congress corridors ring with threats against labor and the Negro people? They seek to make logic out of terror. It won't work if we use the logic of reason that emerges out of the clarity of facts."

The Worker,
March 29, 1959, p. 15.

IX. EDUCATION

1. Cold war military expenditures must be cut to make funds available for education.
2. Marxist education is vital to prevent the recurrence of revisionism in the Communist Party.
3. A national system of education must not be hindered by the backwardness and social prejudices of local bodies.
4. Federal aid to education legislation is necessary to alleviate shortages of classrooms and teachers in the United States.
5. The "great leap forward" in education being made in the socialist world is a challenge to the United States.
6. Protests from youth can be an important part of the drive for school integration.
7. The problem of American educators is "how good an education for how many?"

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Military versus Education Expenditures

"...the federal government pays only 4 percent of the cost of public schools, even though it collects almost 3 out of every 4 tax dollars. Cutting the massive military expenditures which now constitute the biggest part of our national budget, would serve our youth best by reducing the danger of war and making these funds available for useful education."

The Worker,
April 5, 1959, p. 12.

"...In the peaceful competition on education for the people, the United States is being left far behind. This is revealed by the percentage of gross national income spent on education. For the Soviet Union the figure is 10 percent; for Great Britain, eight percent; for the United States, three percent.

"Education is on a hunger-diet in the richest nation of the world....

"...The insatiable munitions - missiles monster which flattens off 75 percent of the national budget does so at the expense of public education, housing, health and employment of the people."

"...it is all too obvious from the record of even the best states that the growth of education in our country depends in very large measure on a steep increase in federal aid to education.

"...the fantastic demands of the Cold War economy are eating away at the vitals of American life. Who would halt this disastrous corrosion must face the facts and work to eliminate the worst and costliest expression of its cause: the Cold War."

The Worker,
March 29, 1959, p. 13.

2. Marxist Education To Prevent Party Revisionism

"One of the main reasons why modern day revisionism got such a strong grip on the Left and Communist forces was the low educational level of many militant workers and progressives. Attendance at the Faculty of Social Science, along with self-study, reading, and mastery of theory, is vital to preventing a recurrence of this debilitating sickness.

"At the same time, it equips advanced workers to more clearly identify and speedily root out all ideologies of capitulation to monopoly reaction and racism. Schooling stimulates the rich creativeness that Marxism alone can give our country.

"We Communists, in particular, have to elevate working class theory to its rightful and preferred place in the labor and progressive movement, in the liberation struggles of the Negro people, among the Puerto Rican and other democratic militants."

The Worker,
April 5, 1959, p. 3.

3. National System of Education

"A NEW AND IMPORTANT area of struggle has begun to emerge in the field of education. More than one question of educational theory and practice in the U.S. will be reflecting its impact during the next years.

"Already the first ventures into 'federal aid to education'...have brought forth some pretty sharp statements on the question of a national system of education, as contrasted with the present 'local control' set-up."

"THE FACT is that the question of a national system of education is not so much emerging as re-emerging in our day. It was an issue almost with the very birth of the nation, at a time when plans for a national system were being put forth, although with significant differences among them, by men of the caliber of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, Noah Webster, and others.

"...The plans failed because powerful social forces opposed them, and no significant forces then existed which could break down the opposition....The defeat of these plans for a national system of education left a permanent mark on the form of public education in the United States."

"TODAY THAT MARK can be seen not only in the form of public education, but increasingly in the content, and even in the mere extent to which educational facilities exist in various sections of the country."

"AMONG THE ENEMIES of a national system, and their spokesmen, there is a high sensitivity to anything that smacks of efforts to 'impose conformity.' They will not be defeated in their renewed efforts to leave education solely to state and local authorities, on every front, except by a correspondingly high sensitivity to the desperately growing needs for federal aid, and for a national system, on the part of those who are unwilling to maintain the terrible burden placed on all of us by the backwardness, lack of resources, or sheer social prejudices of the local bodies."

The Worker,
March 8, 1959, p. 10.

4. Federal Aid to Education

"...the deepening crisis in education...what is particularly noteworthy about the crisis today is its growth during a period of relative prosperity. In this respect, it offers a striking testimonial to the inability of modern American capitalism, which can 'afford' not only some 40-odd billions for armaments but clamors for still more, to provide an educational system at all adequate for the needs of our youth.

"...a shortage of 140,000 classrooms and 135,000 teachers...is growing, not shrinking, while federal aid to education kicks around in Congress year after year and gets nowhere. And in our colleges and universities, tuition fees, already at astronomical levels, continue to go up amid anguished complaints of college administrators that even such fees fall far short of meeting their financial needs."

Hyman Lumer, "On Party Youth Work," Political Affairs, June, 1959, p. 3.

"SO THE EISENHOWER Administration has finally decided to launch a bill of its own for Federal aid to school construction! What welcome news this would be -- IF it were a good bill; and IF it were not mainly designed to take the play away from a more desirable bill, introduced by two Montana Democrats and already enjoying the co-sponsorship of 30 other senators."

"News reports have already characterized the new bill as 'the Administration's counter-attack on pending school construction bills'..."

"Only significant Federal aid within the next immediate period will, in fact, permit them to carry through a classroom-building program of any significant dimensions."

The Worker,
February 22, 1959, p. 10.

"THIS IS budget time. Once again the ugly economic facts that lie beneath all the different phases of our 'crisis in education' come up to the surface. It is not a pleasant or a hopeful picture, and on two major questions, the shortage of classrooms and the shortage of teachers, the situation remains unbelievably bad. In the very same year in which the two giants of Socialism--the USSR and People's China--are moving forward with stupendous boldness in education, we in the U.S. are still wrestling with the most elementary problems--space for our children to learn in, and teachers to learn from.

"We are somewhere in the neighborhood of 150,000 classrooms short for the nation as a whole. There has not been a single post-war year in which classroom shortages have not been of significant proportions; and the figure for this current school year is apparently just what it was a year ago. Yet for three years a Federal aid-to-education bill has been scrapped by Congress. It was well known that the 1957 bill had only the most modest backing from the White House, and this, among other things, contributed to its demise. There does not appear to be any evidence for believing that in 1959 the White House's concern with educational needs will be any deeper. All the State of the Union message asks for is 'study' of the problem...."

The Worker,
February 1, 1959, p. 10.

5. Socialist Educational Progress

'IN CHINA'S educational system today, the 'middle schools' take in the elementary school graduates, between the ages of 13 and 16....

"Like almost everything else they're doing in China these days, recent developments in these 'middle schools' show the tempo and boldness of a really 'new world.' Here is no 'final formula' for the education of teenagers, either in China itself or elsewhere; but it certainly commands our attention. Not only for the solutions, but for the approach, the basic outlook with which they set out to tackle the problems. It's a real challenge to even the best and most 'advanced' of our educational thinking (or prejudices) here."

"One thing is clear: a basic combination of education with productive labor, in China today, is basically transforming the educational process -- and the students, as well. It's the sort of transformation of which we here need to know more -- and prepare to do more about."

The Worker,
May 24, 1959, p. 10.

"THERE ARE great educational changes afoot in the Socialist world, these days, especially in the USSR and China. They have not taken final shape yet, and they may not for some time to come; but they have been, and are, being debated widely in those countries--and not in the courts, or only among the administrators and legislators, but throughout the whole population.

"They are being debated around the fundamental issues actually involved in these changes in practice; and those issues are plainly set forth in documents which our readers can easily lay their hands on...

"One of these documents is the report by Lu Ting-yi, of the Chinese Communist Party, prepared at the close of a broad conference on educational work called by the Central Committee of that Party. It is titled 'Education Must Be Combined With Productive Labor'; and in it are to be found not only certain concrete proposals, of which the bourgeois press here has already begun to feed us their distorted versions, but the principles in the light of which these proposals are to be judged, of which this same bourgeois press tells us next to nothing."

The Worker,
March 29, 1959, p. 10.

"...China today 'combines education with productive labor'...we get some new and exciting evidence of this 'great leap forward' in education.

"TAKE...the school-run factories. There are now, no more than seven months after this development got under way, some 150,000 such enterprises, set up by about 20,000 different universities, colleges and secondary schools, in 20 provinces and cities. In scope, these range 'from large machine works, which can turn out 2,000 machine-tools a year, to small processing units.' Some are extensions of existing factories or laboratories; most of them 'started from scratch--set up with funds earned by students in the "work-while-you-study" program...' "

"...Close to 300,000 spare-time schools are run by factories, with 13 million students in them, and close to 10,000 part-work, part-study schools, with a million and a quarter students in them. There are even factories apparently, which have combined both types of study into a 'comprehensive educational system, ranging from literacy classes and primary schools to university education...' And throughout the set-up the substance of the curriculum is a 'combination of culture, politics and technical science.' "

"Has human history ever seen such human goals for education or such giant human steps to achieve them?"

The Worker,
January 4, 1959, p. 10.

6. School Integration Drive

"...A Board of Education that operates a segregated school system clearly will not want petitions for national integration to be circulated within its schools."

"If students protest in letters to the Board of Education and the newspapers every time they are prevented from circulating petitions, and if PTA's Teen-age clubs, neighborhood and teachers groups join the protest, the Youth March for Integrated Schools can become an important part of the drive for school integration in New York as well as in Little Rock."

The Worker,
March 1, 1959, p. 6.

7. Educational "Quantity-Quality" Problem

"THE 'QUANTITY-QUALITY' problem continues to haunt American educators, as well as friends and observers of our educational practice and products. What the problem boils down to is this: how good an education for how many? and are the 'how good' and the 'how many' in this case locked in such mortal combat that either one of them can only triumph at the expense of the other? That is, is the 'way out of our educational crisis' to be that of making public education broader but thinner, or is it to be that of making it, in effect, deeper but narrower?"

"There is, of course, a third way -- a way on which the educational systems of the Socialist world, and especially of the Soviet Union and China, have already embarked, each along its own lines, and in response to its own concrete needs.

"That is the way of broadening and deepening simultaneously, the way of moving towards higher and higher levels on an ever-widening scale, the way which sees the problems of quantity and of quality, not as in contradiction, but as effective stimulants and guarantees of solution, one to the other."

The Worker,
March 1, 1959, p. 10.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. Art is a weapon in the workers' struggle to free themselves from capitalist exploitation.
2. The visit of the Bolshoi Ballet to the United States has enriched our culture by giving us a new concept and meaning of the dance.
3. The theater is an integral part of the struggle for Negro rights.
4. The wealth of Negro history and culture now buried in libraries is a fertile source of material for use in the battle for the mind of America.
5. Boris Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago is just another of the "hymns of blind hatred" against the Soviet Union which has received the "Madison Avenue build-up."
6. Christianity, instead of providing the promised freedom and a new life for the poor and oppressed worker, has only brought additional oppression.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Art as a Weapon

"The Communist Party conceived of itself, not only as a political party per se,* but also as the spearhead and organizer of a new society, a new civilization, and therefore among its prime responsibilities was the duty of organizing a new consciousness, a new morality, a new ethic, a new esthetic, which would be in harmony with the new society. The Party did not just reflect the force it represented; it proposed to change the relationship of forces.... For this principle applied to art made the demand that art serve as an instrument for change, and so become a 'weapon.'..."

* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

"Marxist...basic view of art as a profound commitment to the struggle of mankind, led by the workers, to free itself of capitalist exploitation and all its evils, is as creative as it ever was--even, under today's conditions, more so."

Phillip Bonosky, "The 'Thirties' in American Culture," Political Affairs, May, 1959, pp. 36, 37.

2. Soviet Ballet Gives New Concept of Dance

"THE BALLET in America will never be the same again. For the Bolshoi ballet has introduced us to an entirely new concept of the magic and meaning of the dance."

"It is not that the Bolshoi Ballet is greater than any other, but that it is wholly different, in idea and form, from any ballet company we have ever seen. None can compare to it, none conceive of the ballet on so grandious and all-embracing a scale."

"As the Soviet Sputnik invigorated American science, as education in the Soviet Union has caused us to reexamine our educational system, so, I believe the Bolshoi Ballet will change our concept of the dance.

"When their tour is ended and they have returned home with their accolades, gifts and bouquets, they will have given us something even more precious than the opportunity to witness their performances. They will have given us a new art form. Like all such gifts, at first, there will be some reluctant to receive it, some who will not understand it. Our culture however will be the richer for it.

"May there be more and more cultural exchanges!"

The Worker,
May 3, 1959, pp. 8, 9.

3. Theater's Part in Struggle for Negro Rights

" 'A RAISIN in the Sun, ' the new play by Lorraine Hansbury, opened on Broadway in March, and made theatre history. It made history in many ways, and the discussion it has started, not only in art circles but among Negro theatre folk, will go on for a long time to come."

"It is an integral part of the struggle for Negro rights. This fact does not diminish its artistic value but, on the contrary, enhances it...."

"Art as a weapon and a truly cultural medium will come into its own, but not by itself. The freedom struggle of the Negro people should and will achieve expression on every front. Those who want freedom can never relax, nor can they accept the notion that there are fronts of human relations removed from conflict.

"The battle for human dignity is being won. The destruction of the racist concepts of those who rule in America would be a mortal blow to national and racial chauvinism. The theatre must be for progress and humanism. And 'Raisin in the Sun' is part of such a theatre."

William L. Patterson, " 'A Raisin in the Sun, ' " Mainstream, May, 1959, pp. 47, 49.

4. Negro Folklore

"... Negro history and culture have been given an enormous amount of attention and, at the same time, have been neglected. There is a wealth of Negro lore in thousands and thousands of books and articles, but most of this is buried in our larger libraries and is known mainly to specialists. The materials have been industriously collected but not much thought about, and then badly thought about for the most part...."

"Scholarship in folklore, like that in politics, history, industry, education and religion, is a battleground even when the warriors don't know it....

"We all know--or should know--that 'the battle for the mind of America' is not carried on solely in factories and union halls, that victories are won in libraries and their effects then filter down into the minds of journalists and then into the minds of that influential seventeen percent of Americans who read a book during a year...."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,
February, 1959, p. 47.

5. Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago

"Pasternak has written just another of the hymns of blind hatred of the Soviet Union that the people have suffered since the first day they dared to build the first socialist country. Not a single gleam of light penetrates the darkness that Zhivago finds everywhere. Can you imagine a great country where EVERYTHING is wrong and immoral? You will find it in Pasternak's book."

"Pasternak spits poison like a snake whenever in his novel he tries to describe any simple worker or peasant, and of course, any rank and file Communist."

"'ZHIVAGO' RECEIVED a Madison Avenue build-up that stunned the mind. Goebbels never had a better success. George Washington and Abraham Lincoln were never more glorified as 'freedom fighters' than Dr. Pasternak. It was one of those circus stunts of American business that often delighted the ribald spirit of the late Mencken.

"America leads the world in publicity skill and brain washing. But I doubt that the hucksters could have peddled a thousand copies of this undistinguished novel if it hadn't been for the Nobel Prize gimmick. That, and the denunciation by the Soviet Authors' Union. What a windfall for the manufacturers of synthetic best sellers.

"That Nobel prize was a disgrace to literature and a volcano of filth and dishonesty. It had little to do with literary value, as most readers now admit, but was as political and partisan an act as any backstage intrigue by Tricky Nick Nixon."

The Worker,
February 1, 1959, p. 8.

6. Christianity and the Oppressed Workers

"...the revolutionary ethical turmoil of Christianity, its tenets and teaching falling like the gentle dew from heaven upon the poor and the oppressed. However poor and miserable one might be, he and she now became, not only sons and daughters of men, but also daughters and sons of God. It was an hilarious thought! Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you, promised a new life and a fine freedom from want and care. The life of the Christians set an example; goods were held in common, and, for a while, a new earth seemed to be within the process of a great birth; a new dawn had come to all men, so all those who suffered, who were weary, all who laboured and were heavy-laden, flocked to the new idea. The workers had only to believe, and all would be well.

"It didn't turn out that way.

"The poor and the needy remained as poor, as needy, and as miserable as ever; the grandees, the rich, their lick-spittle followers became the governors, not only of the Church, but of the State, too; and the lot of the workers became worse than ever; they could have heaven if they wished, but the rich and the privileged continued to inherit the earth. The workers lived in the earth's worst room; they still had a world to win. The poor workers! They had had the rich on their backs before; now they had the prelate and the priest there as well."

Sean O'Casey, "The Day the Worker
Blows a Bugle," Mainstream, May, 1959, p. 3.

XI. WOMEN

1. Women can be instrumental in formulating our national budget program.
2. Preparations should be made to celebrate the 50th anniversary of International Women's Day in March, 1960.
3. Solutions are needed to the problems confronting American women who are working outside the home in increasing numbers.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. National Budget

"The main problem facing American women today is the criminal wastefulness of national housekeeping. Budget defense spending brings us neither security nor friends. Every housewife knows you cannot pour most of your allowance down the drain of futile defense and simultaneously accomplish sensible housekeeping.

"American women, half the voting population, must assume natural responsibility for housekeeping of the nation, and use their common sense in spending the bulk of the budget for the essentials of life, namely health, housing, education and implementation of civil rights for all Americans.

"American women must replace the extravagantly wasteful war budget and program with a constructive peace budget and program."

The Worker,
March 8, 1959, p. 8.

2. International Women's Day

"IT IS NOT too early for American women to set up committees in various cities and begin to prepare for the celebration of the 50th anniversary

of International Women's Day, which will be world-wide, next March. In the struggle for peace, for democracy, for the well being of children and for the equal rights of women--meetings, demonstrations, exhibits, can be arranged.

"The progress made thus far, locally and nation-wide, can be registered and slogans prepared as to the struggles not yet completed.

"It will be disgraceful if in the country where International Women's Day had its origin, adequate and appropriate recognition of its history is lacking, while colorful and dramatic celebrations are planned in all other countries. Even a small group of determined women can start the ball rolling in each city."

...
"...Let's set up committees to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of International Women's Day--and do it soon."

The Worker,
May 24, 1959, p. 9.

3. Working Women

"The attitude that woman's place is in the home is a tongue-in-cheek myth. For American women have always worked in large numbers, that is, working-class women, and particularly women of immigrant and Negro families."

...
"The 'bird in a gilded cage' concept of womanhood was reserved for the middle and leisure classes."

"What is new in the modern picture of today is not the fact that women are working outside their homes...."

"The striking fact is that it takes the earning power of husband and wife, in the majority of homes today (to get even a small share of the country's wealth in commodity production."

"...American women are working outside the home in growing numbers and...this fact requires a realistic view of their needs and problems. And we might add that, as part of the country's labor force, women have the right to demand solution of their needs and problems so that they may function more thoroughly and equitably both as women and mothers and as workers."

The Worker,
March 8, 1959, pp. 7, 9.

XII. YOUTH

1. Conditions must be created that will encourage the formation of a Marxist youth organization.
2. The enthusiasm generated by the recent youth march on Washington should be maintained through proper organization.
3. Pressure from youth organizations has forced the State Department to modify its opposition to the forthcoming World Youth Festival in Vienna.
4. Federal legislation is necessary to guarantee an education, employment, and health for America's youth.
5. Youth can play an important part in combatting the Jim Crow system in America.
6. Jazz is a common ground for remaining close to the youth.
7. Many problems of America's delinquent youth might be solved by using Soviet methods.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Marxist Youth Organization

"IN THE MOMENTOUS struggle for peace, democracy and social progress taking place today, the youth of our country occupy a uniquely important position. Hence they are a vital element of the mass base of any working-class or socialist organization, not least of the Communist Party. The Party cannot wage successfully the fight for progress and socialism without striving to win a solid base among the youth, and without a continual influx of young people into its ranks."

"...every effort should be made to increase and widen the Party's youth work and its participation, initiative and influence in mass youth movements and campaigns. Attention should be given in all districts to the setting up of youth-work commissions. A flexible policy should be developed toward the building of Party youth clubs and similar organizational forms. Every effort should be made to establish a national apparatus as soon as possible, and steps should be taken to prepare a Party program and perspectives for all aspects of youth work, as well as an educational program for youth.

"Further, the Party should do all it can to help create conditions for and support efforts of youth groups toward the establishment of a nationwide socialist youth organization along the general lines indicated above. It should give full encouragement and support to the building of all kinds of local youth organizations and committees, among them various interim and provisional forms of organization directed toward the goal of a national youth organization."

Hyman Lumer, "On Party Youth Work,"
Political Affairs, June, 1959, pp. 1, 13.

"Peoples all over the world are ousting oppressive foreign rulers, insisting that they control their own resources and governments, and seeking peaceful relations with each other. All youth need knowledge of the conditions of life among these other peoples, and closer acquaintance with facts pertinent to youth's situation here.

"Therefore, we are establishing this page of articles, stories, reviews as a weekly feature of special interest to youth...."

The Worker,
February 15, 1959, p. 6.

2. Youth March on Washington

"AMERICA'S YOUTH is capable of big things. They created the greatest youth pilgrimage to Washington that our country has ever seen.

"The young people's crusade was in its purpose and power a major political event. That is undoubtedly why the capitalist press imposed a virtual blackout on the crusade. The monopoly newspapers are allergic to mass action by the people, even young people, in their own behalf.

"The youths have returned home, or to the colleges from which they came, more determined than ever to win their simple and just demands.

"A GREAT NEW POWER has been forged in our land, the power of Negro and white young people."

"The confidence of the Youth Marchers that they will win is, we believe fully justified by what they have already done. The March was achieved not only by enthusiasm, but by organization, as all those who participated in it will testify. Organization is the key to its future success. A maximum of contact between all areas and the national headquarters, and a maximum of contact within each city and area, are now essential."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 3, 1959, p. 2.

"TWENTY-SIX THOUSAND Negro and white youth marched on Washington, demanding vigorous steps by the White House and Congress to speed school integration."

"The continuations program of the Youth marchers calls for passing the Douglas-Javits civil rights bill, continuing the petition drive, and freeing of Asbury Howard Jr.

"Eisenhower, who refused to leave his golf bags to listen to the youth, and also Congress, must be made to comply with the just demands of the youth. **BREAK THE SCHOOL SEGREGATION BARRIER BY SEPTEMBER. ACT NOW!**

"The Worker is proud that it gave its support to this democratic efforts of America's youth."

Editorial, The Worker,
April 26, 1959, p. 2.

3. World Youth Festival

"PRESSURE from youth and youth organizations around the country and the world has forced the U.S. State Department to change its position of complete opposition to the World Youth Festival. It is now 'quietly and unofficially encouraging the participation of able and thoroughly prepared American students' in the Vienna World Youth Festival, July 26 to August 4..."

"Indications are that the new State Department policy is not all for the benefit of peace and friendship. There have been reports of possible attempts at disrupting the Festival or the U.S. delegation at Vienna by 'thoroughly prepared American students,' thoroughly prepared by the State Department...."

The Worker,
April 5, 1959, p. 6.

4. Legislation for Youth

"...Legislate for America's youth. Establish an American Youth Administration with funds and authority to work with representatives of youth organizations on national, state and local levels for a program to guarantee to our youth the opportunity for job training and employment for schooling through college and specialized education, for athletics and recreational activities and all other needs. Abolish peace-time conscription."

The Worker,
March 15, 1959, p. 5.

5. Fight against Jim Crow System

"THE DEVASTATING effects of the Jimcrow system in America, and the role of youth in combatting it were explored by Dr. Herbert Aptheker at a lecture May 1 for youth on integration.

"...Aptheker pointed out that although significant gains have been made since the Civil War, conditions for 19 million Negro American are still worse than unequal."

"He pointed out that the wall of hatred separating workers is 'the single greatest weakening instrument of the American working class and the trade unions.'

"...Aptheker suggested to the Negro and white audience that they could work effectively through opposing racism in their personal conduct, through combining and working with others who share these views, and through disciplined study.

"He urged youth to join the fight on all levels: in their schools, through local NAACP youth chapters, through union branches, wherever and however possible to secure our rightful heritage of true equality."

The Worker,
May 17, 1959, p. 6.

6. Jazz and the Youth

"One must try to live close to the youth--they hold the future of America in their hands. What is the one subject nearly all of them are united on? It is Jazz, a subject of debate and devotion that far outclasses such subjects as war and peace, socialism and capitalism, books, girls and even baseball. Young intellectual and young working stiffs meet on this common ground.

"The sensible parent, however much he may dislike Jazz, should try honestly to understand it, if only as a means of remaining friends with his offspring."

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"Let them discuss it seriously with their kids--they will be surprised to learn, often, how much real thinking the kids are doing on this subject, how deeply jazz moves them, how jazz has destroyed any racism they might otherwise have picked up. The kids have acquired a great deal of real technical knowledge of music through their passion for jazz."

The Worker,
March 29, 1959, p. 8.

7. Delinquent Youth

"In this day of gang fights, brutal murders and violence on the part of many of America's youth, we might do well to look to the Soviet Union, which had a serious delinquency problem.

"Some 35 years ago, hordes of homeless, hungry and often vicious youngsters roamed the USSR....

"Anton Makarenko, in his 'Road to Life', discovered how to apply Socialist principles to these 'hoodlums'...."

.

"His fundamental attitude was simple--young criminals must be treated with full respect as human beings, but pampering them can do more harm than good. You must be extremely demanding of them, always insisting that they deliver to society the utmost of their ability."

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"Perhaps our young delinquents can also become useful members of society, but not while we continue either cuddling or beating them. We can learn a lot from Anton Makarenko."

The Worker,
April 19, 1959, p. 6.